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PUBLIC BREAKFAST TO WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

A PUBLIC breakfast was held at St. James's Hall on Saturday morning in honor of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., the distinguished leader of the American anti-slavery party in the United States. The great hall from an early hour presented a striking and animated appearance. Between three and four hundred persons sat down to breakfast, including a large number of ladies, who added greatly to the interest of the scene. The flags of England and America occupied a conspicuous position at the extremity of the hall, and the balconies were filled with spectators. In the front of the platform a splendid engraving of President Lincoln was displayed. Among the crowd of nobilities who were present were the following: John Bright, Esq., M.P., the chairman; Mr. W. L. Garrison, his daughter Mrs. Vilard, and his son Mr. F. Garrison; the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Earl Russell, K.G., and the Countess and Lady G. Russell; Lady M. Stanhope, Lady Edward Cavendish, Mr. V. Harcourt, Q.C., the Right Hon. W. Cowper, M.P., Mr. G. Thompson, the Hon. E. L. Stanley, Mr. J. Stansfeld, M.P., the Earl of Airlie, Lord A. S. Churchill, Bishop Payne, Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P., Mr. P. Urquhart, M.P., Mr. G. S. Lefevre, Mr. D. M'Laren, M.P., Mr. W. Morrison, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Professor Maurice, Mr. C. J. More, M.P., Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., Lady Lyell, Miss Cobden, Mr. Chisholm Anstey, the Hon. Charles Howard, M.P., Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., the Marquis Townshend, Mr. William Craft, Mr. Henry Vincent, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Charles S. Roundell, Mr. Serjeant Parry, Mr. C. H. Hopwood, Mr. Victor Schœlcher, Mr. Lionel Tollemache, Professor Huxley, F.R.S., Major Evans Bell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lady Trevelyan (sister of Lord Macaulay), Hon. George Brodrick, Mr. J. R. Robinson, Mrs. Edmund Potter, Sir George Young, Bart., Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. J. M. Ludlow, Mr. S. Pope, the Hon. F. H. Morse, Mr. Henry Crompton, Col. Salwey, Mr. A. H. Dymond, Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P., Mr. Thomas Barnes, M.P., Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Lougel, Miss Emma Chapman (Boston), the Hon. F. Leveson Gower, M.P., Mr. W. M. Neill, Mr. H. E. Buxton, Professor Beesly, Mr. William Shaen, Mr. R. C. Fisher, Mr. Gorrie, Mr. R. D. Webb (Dublin), Mr. William McArthur, Mr. H. J. Slack, the Rev. W. H. Channing (Boston), Mr. T. Falvey, Rev. Dr. Davis, Mr. Edward Dicey, Mr. Albert V. Dicey, the Rev. Sella Martin, the Rev. Dr. Massie, the Rev. Thomas Phillips, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. W. Redfern, Mr. W. T. Malleson, Miss Remond, Mr. L. M. Aspland, Mr. William Evans, Mr. Frank H. Evans, Professor Fawcett, M.P., Mr. Flower (Stratford-on-Avon), Mr. Mark Marsden, Mr. Richard Moore, Mr. Octavius Smith, Capt. Walhouse, Mr. Edmond Beales, Mr. John Dickinson, Jr., Mr. W. Moy Thomas, Mr. T. H. Green (Balliol College), Mr. Robert Laing (Wadham College), Mr. H. Wedgwood, Mr. Vincent S. Lean, Mr. Edward Miall, Mr. W. H. Ashurst, Mr. Mason Jones, Mr. T. C. Turberville, Mr. James Clarke, Mr. E. O. Greening, Mr. P. Edwards, Dr. Lankester, Mr. Arthur Albright (Birmingham), Mr. T. Coote (St. Ives), and a host of others.

Grace was said by Bishop PAYNE (a gentleman of color).

Mr. F. W. CHESSON, the hon. secretary, read a letter from Mr. Adams, the American Minister, regretting that he could not be present. Mr. Chesson also read the following letter:

YORK HOUSE, Twickenham, S. W., June 26.

"SIR: Engagements of long standing will prevent me from being present at the breakfast which will be given on Saturday to Mr. Garrison. I regret it extremely, and I hasten to beg you to thank the committee in the Comtesse de Paris's name, as well as my own, for the amiable invitation which you have transmitted to us.

"I wish at least to avail myself of that opportunity to tell you how much I sympathise with the mark of esteem and respect which you are about to give to the courageous and indefatigable champion of emancipation. The abolition of slavery is indeed a cause dear to every liberal heart, whatever may be its country; and as we all belong to an epoch which, besides its faults has also its greatness, we may be proud to see it wipe off this shameful stain on our civilization.

"The cause of humanity has definitively triumphed, thanks to the energy of a free people. Slavery is henceforth condemned by public opinion, even in the countries where the law allows it still an ephemeral existence. But those who have served this cause can never forget that at a time when its success appeared only as an impracticable utopia, it had enlisted already a handful of eloquent defenders, and that prominent amongst them was William Lloyd Garrison.

"After consecrating his life to a task so difficult at the outset, he has had the happiness to see the accomplishment of the salutary revolution for which he labored. He has at last been conspicuous, even for his moderation, in the midst of that American people, which formed in the manly school of liberty has shown itself as great in victory as in adversity. While we pay deserved homage to those who receive during this life the recompense of their devotion to their principles, it is impossible not to associate with them the memory of those who have been the martyrs of their cause from the name already historical of Lincoln to the last of those who are inscribed on the long and precious lists published in America, and so justly called 'The Roll of Honor.'

"In receiving a man whose character honors America, I thank you, sir, for having thought of me, and for having counted on my sympathy for all that is great and noble in that country which I have seen in the midst of such a terrible crisis. I remain, sir, yours truly:

"LOUIS PHILLIPPE D'ORLEANS, Compte de Paris.

"F. W. Chesson, Esq., Hon. Secretary."

The most striking passages in this letter were loudly applauded.

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., who was received with great enthusiasm, spoke as follows: The position in which I am placed this morning is one very unusual for me, and one that I find somewhat difficult; but I consider it a signal distinction to be permitted to take a prominent part in the proceedings of this day, which are intended to commemorate one of the greatest of the great triumphs of freedom, and to do honor to a most eminent instrument in the achievement of that freedom. [Hear, hear]. There may be, perhaps, those who ask what is this triumph of which I speak. To put it briefly, and indeed, only to put one part of it, I may say that it is a triumph which has had the effect of raising 4,000,000 of human beings from the very lowest depth of social and political degradation to that lofty height which men have attained when they possess equality of rights in the first country on the globe. [Cheers.] More than this, it is a triumph which has pronounced the irrevocable doom of slavery in all countries and for all time. [Renewed Cheers.] Another question suggests itself—how has this great matter been accomplished? The answer suggests itself in another question. How is it that any great matter is accomplished? Why, by a love of justice, by constant devotion to a great cause, and by an unfaltering faith that that which is right will in the end succeed. [Hear, hear.] When I look at this hall, filled with such an assembly, when I partake of the sympathy which runs from heart to heart at this moment in welcome to our guest of to-day, I cannot but contrast his present position with that which, not so far back, many of us can remember he was occupied whilst in this country. It is not forty years ago, I believe about the year 1829, that the guest whom we honor this morning was spending his solitary days in a prison in the slave-owning city of Baltimore. I will not say that he was languishing in prison, for that I do not believe; he was sustained by a hope that did not yield to the persecution of those who thus maltreated him; and to show that the effect of that imprisonment was of no avail to suppress or extinguish his ardor, within two years after that he had the courage—the audacity—I dare say many of his countrymen used even a stronger phrase than that—he had the courage to commence the publication, in the city of Boston, of a newspaper devoted mainly to the question of the abolition of slavery. The first number of that paper, published the 1st July, 1831, contained an address to the public, one passage of which I have often read with the greatest interest, and it is a key to the future life of Mr. Garrison. He had been complained of for having used hard language—but it is a very common complaint indeed—and he said in his first number: "I am aware that many object to the severity of my language, but is there no cause for such severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retract a single inch, and I will be heard." [Cheers.] And that, after all, expresses to a great extent the future course of his life. But what was at that time the temper of the people amongst whom he lived—of the people who are glorying now, as they well may glory, in the abolition of slavery throughout their country? At that time it was very little better in the North than it was in the South. I think it was in the year 1835 that riots of the most terrific character took place in some of the Northern cities; during that time Mr. Garrison's life was in the most imminent peril; and he has never ascertained to this day how it was that he was left alive on the earth to carry out his great work. Turning to the South, a State that has lately suffered from the ravages of armies, the State of Georgia, by its legislature of House, Senate, and Governor, if my memory does not deceive me, passed a bill, offering $10,000 reward [Mr. Garrison here said $5,000]—well, they seemed to think there were people who would do it cheap [laughter]—offered $5,000, and zeal, doubtless, would make up the difference, for the capture of Mr. Garrison, or for adequate proof of his death. Now, these were menaces and perils such as we have not in our time been accustomed to in this country in any of our political movements [hear, hear]—and we shall take a very poor measure indeed of the conduct of the leaders of the emancipation party in the United States if we measure them by any of those who have been concerned in political movements amongst us. But, notwithstanding all drawbacks, the cause was gathering strength, and Mr. Garrison found himself by and by surrounded by a small but increasing band of men and women who were devoted to this cause, as he himself was. We have in this country a very noble woman, who taught the English people much upon this question about thirty years ago; I allude to Harriet Martineau. [Cheers.] I recollect well the impression with which I read a most powerful and touching paper which she had written, and which was published in the number of the *Westminster Review* for December, 1838. It was entitled "The Martyr Age of the United States." The paper introduced to the English public the great names which were appearing on the scene in connection with this cause in America. There was, of course I need not mention, our eminent guest of to-day; there was Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan, and Birney of Alabama, a planter and slave-owner who liberated his slaves and came North, and became, as I think, the first candidate upon abolition principles in the United States. [Hear, hear.] There were besides them, Dr. Channing, John Quincy Adams, a statesman and President of the United States, and father of the eminent man who is now Minister from that people amongst us. [Cheers.] Then there was Wendell Phillips, admitted to be by all who knew him the most powerful and most distinguished orator who speaks the English language. [Hear, hear.] I might refer to others, Charles Sumner, the well-known statesman, and Horace Greeley, I think the first of journalists in the United States, if not the first of journalists in the world. [Hear, hear.] But, besides these, there were of noble women not a few. There was Mrs. Child, there were the two sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, ladies who came from South Carolina, who liberated their slaves and devoted all they had to the service of this just cause; and Mrs. Chapman, of whom Miss Martineau speaks in terms which, though I do not exactly recollect, yet I know describes her as noble-minded, beautiful, and good. It may be that there are some of her family who are now within the sound of my voice. If it be so, all I have to say is that I hope they will feel, in addition to all they have felt heretofore as to the character of their mother, that we who are here can appreciate her services, and the services of all who are united with her as co-operators in this great and worthy cause. But there was another whose name must not be forgotten, a man whose name must live for ever in history, Mr. Lovejoy, who in the free State of Illinois laid down his life for the cause. [Hear, hear.] When I read that article by Harriet Martineau, and the description of those men and women there given, I was led, I know not how, to think of a very striking passage which I am sure must be familiar to most here, because it is to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. After the writer of that epistle had described the great men and fathers of the nation, he says: "Time would fail me to tell of Gideon, of Barak, of Sampson, of Jephtha, of David, of Samuel, and the Prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." I ask if this grand passage of the inspired writer may not be applied to that heroic band who have made America the perpetual home of freedom. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Thus, in spite of all that persecution could do, opinion grew in the North in favor of freedom; but in the South, alas! in favor of that most devilish delusion that slavery was a Divine institution. The moment that idea took possession of the South war was inevitable. Neither fact, nor argument, nor counsel, nor philosophy, nor religion, could by any possibility affect the discussion of the question when once the Church leaders of the South had broken into that sphere, and taught their people that slavery was a Divine institution; for then they took their stand on other and different, and what they in their blindness thought higher grounds, and they said, "Evil! be thou my good," and so they exchanged light for darkness, and freedom for bondage, and good for evil, and, if you like, heaven for hell. Of course, unless there was some stupendous miracle, greater than any that is on record even in the inspired writings, it was impossible that wars should not spring out of that state of things; and then the political slaveholders, that dreadful brotherhood in whom all turbulent passions were let loose the moment they found that the presidential election of 1860 was adverse to the slave question, took up arms to sustain their cherished and endangered system. Then came the outbreak which had been so often foretold, so often menaced, and so often deprecated, and the ground reeled under the nation during four years of agony, until at last, after the smoke of the battle-field had cleared away, the horrid shape which had cast its shadow over a whole continent had vanished, and was gone for ever. [Loud cheers.] An ancient and renowned poet has said—

"Unholy is the voice
Of loud thanksgiving over slaughtered men."

It becomes us not to rejoice, but to be humbled, that a chastisement so terrible should have fallen upon any of our race; but we may be thankful for this, that that chastisement was at least not sent in vain. [Hear.] This great triumph in the field was not all; there came after it another great triumph—a triumph over passion, and there came up before the world the spectacle, not of armies and military commanders, but of the magnanimity and mercy of a powerful and victorious nation. [Cheers.] The vanquished were treated as vanquished, in the history of the world, have never before been treated. There was a universal feeling in the North that every care should be taken of those who had so recently and marvellously been enfranchised. Immediately we found that the privileges of independence were opened to them, schools were established, in which their sons might obtain an education that would raise them to an intellectual position never reached by their fathers, and at length full political rights were conferred upon those who a few short years, or rather months, before had been called chattels and things to be bought and sold in any market. [Hear, hear.] Take for granted, we may feel assured, that those persons in the Northern States who befriended the negro in his bondage will not now resist his struggles for a higher position. May we not say, reviewing what has taken place—and I have only glanced in the briefest possible way at the chief aspects of this great question—that probably history has no sadder, and yet, if we take a different view, I may say also probably no brighter page. [Cheers.] To Mr. Garrison more than to any other man this is due; his is the creation of that opinion which has made slavery hateful, and which has made freedom possible in America. [Hear, hear.] His name is venerated in his own country—venerated where not long ago it was a name of obloquy and reproach. His name is venerated in this country and in Europe wheresoever Christianity softens the hearts and lessens the sorrows of men; and I venture to say that in time to come, near or remote I know not, his name will become the herald and the synonyme of good to millions of men who will dwell on the now almost unknown continent of Africa. [Loud cheers.] But we must not allow our own land to be forgotten or depreciated, even whilst we are saying what our feelings bid us say of our friend beside me and our other friends across the water. We, too, can share in the triumph I have described, and in the honors which the world is willing to shower upon our guest and upon those who, like him, are unwearied in doing good. We have had slaves in the colonial territories that owned the sway of this country. Our position was different from that in which the Americans stood towards theirs; the negroes were far from being so numerous, and they were not in our midst, but 4,000 miles away. We had no prejudices of color to overcome, we had a Parliament that was omnipotent in those colonies, and public opinion acting upon that Parliament was too powerful for the Englishmen who were interested in the continuance of slavery. We liberated our slaves—for the English soil did not reject the bondsman, but the moment he touched it made him free. We have now in our memory Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Sturge, and even now we have within this hall the most eloquent living champion of the freedom of the slave in my friend and our friend, George Thompson. [Great cheering.] Well, then, I may presume to say that we are sharers in that good work which has raised our guest to eminence, and we may divide it with the country from which he comes. [Hear, hear.] Our country is still his, for did not his fathers bear allegiance to our ancient monarchy, and were they not at one time citizens of this commonwealth? and may we not add that the freedom which now overspreads his noble nation first sprang into life amongst our own ancestors. [Enthusiastic cheering.] To Mr. Garrison, as is stated in one of the letters which has just been read, to William Lloyd Garrison it has been given, in a manner not often permitted to those who do great things of this kind, to see the ripe fruit of his vast labors. Over a territory large enough to make many realms, he has seen hopeless toil supplanted by confederated industry; and where the bondman dragged his chain, there freedom is established for ever. [Loud cheers.] We now welcome him amongst us as a friend whom some of us have known long—for I have watched his career with no common interest, even when I was too young to take much part in public affairs, and I have kept within my heart his name and the names of those who have been associated with him in every step which he has taken; and in public debate in the halls of peace, or even on the blood-soiled fields of war, my heart has always been with those who were the friends of freedom. [Renewed cheering.] We welcome him, then, with a cordiality which brooks no stint and knows no limit for him and for his noble associates, both men and women, and we venture to speak a verdict which, I believe, will be sanctioned by all mankind, not only those who live now, but those who shall come after, to whom their perseverance and their success shall be a lesson and a help in those future struggles which remain for men to make. One of our oldest and greatest poets has furnished me with a line that well expresses that verdict. Are not William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow-laborers in that world's work—are they not

"On fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be filed?"

(Loud cheering, which was continued for some time.) I shall now ask the Duke of Argyll to be kind enough to propose an address, which it is hoped and felt that this meeting will be very pleased to consent to.

The DUKE OF ARGYLL, who was most cordially received, said it was hard on him to have to follow an address of such extraordinary beauty, simplicity and power as that to which they had just listened. (Hear, hear.) But it now became his duty to move an address of hearty congratulation to their distinguished guest, William Lloyd Garrison. [Cheers.] This country was from time to time honored by the presence of many distinguished, and of a few illustrious men, but, for the most part, they were content to receive them with that private cordiality and hospitality with which he trusted they should always receive strangers who might visit their shores. The people of this country were not pre-eminently an emotional people; they were not naturally fond of public demonstrations, and it was only upon rare occasions that they gave, or could give, such a reception as that which they gave that day. There must be something peculiar in the cause which a man had served, in the service which he had rendered, and in their own relations with the people whom he represented, to justify or to account for such a reception. [Hear, hear.] And with regard to the cause, it was not too much to say that the cause of negro emancipation in the United States of America had been the greatest cause which, in ancient or in modern times, had been pleaded at the bar of the moral judgment of mankind. [Cheers.] He knew that to some this would sound as the language of exaggerated feeling, but he could only say that he had expressed himself in language which he believed conveyed the literal truth of the case. [Hear, hear.] He had, indeed, often heard it said in deprecation of the amount of interest which was bestowed in this country on the cause of negro emancipation in America, that they were apt to forget the forms of suffering which were immediately at their own doors, over which they had some control, and to express exaggerated feeling as to the forms of suffering with which they had nothing to do, and for which they were not responsible. He had never objected to that language in so far as it might tend to recal them to the duties which lay immediately around them, and in so far as it might tend to make them recollect the forgetfulness of which they were sometimes guilty, of the misery and poverty in their own country; but, on the other hand, he would never admit—for he thought it would be confounding great moral distinctions—that the miseries which arose by way of natural consequence out of the poverty and the vices of mankind, were to be compared with those miseries which were the direct result of positive law and of a positive institution, giving to man property in man. [Loud cheers.] It was true, also, that there had been forms of servitude, meaning thereby compulsory labor, against which they did not entertain the same feelings of hostility and horror with which they regarded slavery in America. [Hear, hear.] Although they rejoiced at the cessation of serfdom in Russia, what person felt in regard to that condition of things as he felt in regard to negro slavery in America? [Hear, hear.] Undoubtedly the condition of compulsory servitude had been a stage in the progress of mankind, and they rejoiced that that stage had been passed; but with regard to negro slavery in America, it was not one, but many circumstances, which constituted its peculiar aggravation and horror. [Hear, hear.] It was a system of which it might be truly said it was twice cursed. It curseth him that serves, and it curseth him that owns the slave. [Hear, hear.] When they recollected the inseparable temptations which that system held out to maintain in a state of degradation and ignorance a whole race of mankind; the horrors of the internal slave trade, more widely demoralizing, in his opinion, than the foreign slave trade itself; the violence which was done to the sanctities of domestic life; the corrupting effect which it was having upon the very churches of Christianity—when they recollected all these things, they could fully estimate the evil from which his distinguished friend and his coadjutors had at last redeemed their country. [Cheers.] It was not only the slave States which were concerned in the guilt of slavery; it had struck its roots deep in the free States of North America. And what were the free States of North America? It might be said with truth that America was a country which seemed destined by Almighty God to test the question, what man can do best for himself. [Cheers.] Existing under the most favorable conditions of external circumstances, possessing a vast territory of the greatest wealth with the greatest natural capabilities of improvement, peopled by the most energetic races of Europe, free to take with them all that was best, or at least much that was best, of the most ancient civilization of the world, and free to leave behind them as much as they might think evil of the traditions of the past, who was there with a heart in his breast, or for that matter with a head on his shoulders, who did not look with intense interest to the conduct of that great experiment, and who did not rejoice with a joy unspeakable in events which had freed their young and noble life from the taint and the curse of slavery? [Loud cheers.] If such be the cause, what were they to say of the man and of the services which he had rendered to that cause? They honored Mr. Garrison, in the first place, for the immense pluck and courage which he displayed. [Cheers.] The chairman had truly said that there was no comparison between the contest which Mr. Garrison had had to fight and the most bitter contest of their own public life. In looking back to the contest which was maintained in this country against slavery in their colonies, they might recollect that Clarkson and Wilberforce were denounced as fanatics, and had to encounter much opprobrium; but it must not be forgotten that, so far as regarded the entwining of the roots of slavery into the social system, there was no comparison whatever between that contest and the contest in America. [Hear, hear.] The number of persons who in this country were enlisted on the side of slavery by personal interest was always comparatively few, whilst in attacking slavery at its headquarters in the United States, Mr. Garrison had to encounter the strongest objections which were entwined with the self-interest of mankind. [Hear, hear.] It was, indeed, a tremendous sea which ran upon the surface of the human mind when the storms of passion and of self-interest ran counter to the secret currents of conscience and the sense of right. [Cheers.] Such was the stormy sea on which Mr. Garrison embarked at first—if he might use the simile—almost in a one-oared boat. He stood alone. [Cheers.] He could not help saying that in their reception that day of Mr. Garrison, they were entitled to think of him as representing the increased power and force which is exerted in our own times by the moral opinions of mankind. [Hear, hear.] It was true that they had had lately some of the most tremendous and bloody wars which history recorded, and he, for one, must admit that the time had not yet come—it was not even yet in sight—when they could turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; but if they looked to the great events to which he had referred, it would be seen that in our own time the march of great battalions had generally been in the wake of the march of great principles [hear, hear]—that in the freedom of Italy, in the consolidation of Germany, and still more in the recent triumph in America, they were to look to the triumphs of opinion as, in the main, the triumphs which had been won. [Cheers.] He could understand the joy which must be felt by a great sovereign or by a great general when standing even amidst the heaps of slain he could feel that he had won the independence of a country, or still better, had established the independence of a race. They could all, however, understand still better the joy of him who, like their distinguished friend, after years of obloquy and oppression, and being denounced as the fanatical supporter of extreme opinions, found himself acknowledged at last by his countrymen and the world as the prophet and apostle of a triumphant and accepted cause. [Cheers.] One word in regard to the nation which Mr. Garrison represented. Let them not forget that only a few years ago the present reception could not have been given to Mr. Garrison. He was then not the representative of a people, of a country, or of a government. He was the representative only of a party in the United States, and he [the Duke of Argyll] had always held that public receptions or meetings in foreign countries, taking part with particular parties of another country, were sometimes almost as apt to do as much harm as good. [Hear, hear.] Now, thank God, Mr. Garrison appeared before them as the representative of the United States; freedom was now the policy of the government and the assured policy of the country, and those present accepted and welcomed Mr. Garrison that day, not merely as the liberator of the slaves, but as the representative also of the American government. [Cheers.] This country desired to maintain with the American people not merely relations of amity and peace; it desired to have their friendship and affection. [Cheers.] It was not merely that that country had sprung from us; it was, that it was still to a great extent springing from England. [Hear, hear.] It was hardly possible to go into any house of the farming class in that part of the country with which he was particularly connected without being told that a brother or a sister, a daughter or a son, had gone to the United States of America, and was flourishing in the free State of Ohio or Illinois. [Cheers.] He thought that they ought all to feel that in going to America they were going only to a second home. [Cheers.] Such were the relations which he trusted to see established between the two countries. [Hear, hear.] Surely it was time to forget ancient differences. [Hear, hear.] He maintained that there was hardly an Englishman in the country—he was sure there was no one in that room—who was not proud of Washington as he was proud of Wellington [cheers]—as the common heritage of their race. [Hear, hear.] Therefore, on all these grounds—on the ground of the cause of which he was the great champion, of the peculiar services which he had rendered to that cause, and of the people whom he represented, they desired to give Mr. Garrison a hearty welcome. [Cheers.] The noble duke then read the address—which, he stated, had been drawn up by a very distinguished person [Mr. Smith], who had long been connected by sympathy with the cause of freedom in the United States—as follows:—

To William Lloyd Garrison Esq.:

SIR: We heartily welcome you to England in the name of thousands of Englishmen who have watched with admiring sympathy your labors for the redemption of the negro race from slavery, and for that which is a higher object than the redemption of any single race, the vindication of the universal principles of humanity and justice; and who, having sympathised with you in the struggle, now rejoice with you in the victory.

"Forty years ago, when you commenced your efforts, slavery appeared to be rapidly advancing to complete ascendancy in America. Not only was it dominant in the Southern States, but even in the free States it had bowed the constituencies, society, and, in too many instances, even the churches to its will. Commerce, linked to it by interest, lent it her support. A great party, compactly organized and vigorously wielded, placed in its hands the power of State. It bestowed political offices and honors, and was thereby enabled to command the apostate homage of political ambition. Other nations felt the prevalence in your national councils of its insolent and domineering spirit. There was a moment, most critical in the history of America and of the world, when it seemed as though that continent, with all its resources and all its hopes, was about to become the heritage of the Slave Power.

"But Providence interposes to prevent the permanent triumph of evil. It interposes, not visibly or by the thunderbolt, but by inspiring and sustaining high moral effort and heroic lives.

"You commenced your crusade against slavery in isolation, in weakness, and in obscurity. The emissaries of authority with difficulty found the office of the *Liberator* in a mean room, where its editor was aided only by a negro boy, and supported by a few insignificant persons (so the officers termed them) of all colors. You were denounced, persecuted, and hunted down by mobs of wealthy men alarmed for the interest of their class. You were led out by one of these mobs, and saved from their violence and the imminent peril of death, almost by a miracle. You were not turned from your path of devotion to your cause, and to the highest interest of your country, by denunciation, persecution, or the fear of death. You have lived to stand victorious and honoured in the very stronghold of slavery; to see the flag of the Republic, now truly free, replace the flag of slavery on Fort Sumter, and to proclaim the doctrines of the *Liberator* in the city, and beside the grave of Calhoun.

"Enemies of war, we most heartily wish, and doubt not that you wish as heartily as we do, that this deliverance could have been wrought out by peaceful means. But the fierce passions engendered by slavery in the slave-owner determined it otherwise; and we feel at liberty to rejoice, since the struggle was inevitable, that its issue has been the preservation, not the extinction, of all that we hold most dear. We are, however, not more thankful for the victories of freedom in the field than for the moderation and mercy shown by the victors, which have exalted and hallowed their cause and ours in the eyes of all nations.

"We shall now watch with anxious hope the development, amidst the difficulties which still beset the regeneration of the South, of a happier order of things in the States rescued from slavery, and the growth of free communities, in which your name, with the names of your fellow-workers in the same cause, will be held in grateful and lasting remembrance.

"Once more we welcome you to a country in which you will find many sincere admirers and warm friends."

Earl RUSSELL, at the invitation of Mr. Bright, came forward to second the address, and was received with rapturous applause. The noble Earl said: As one of his many sincere admirers and warm friends, I beg to join in this welcome to Mr. Garrison. I hold it to be a distinguished honor to be permitted to join in this tribute of admiration to Mr. Garrison. It is the fortune of our race that if many evils beset mankind; if the wrong is often deeply felt; if institutions sometimes prevail that condemn thousands and often millions to what seems hopeless servitude, that the Almighty has planted in the breasts of some a spark of indignation against wrong, and readiness to encounter any evil, even to submit to martyrdom, in order to deliver mankind, and they will not rest until those evils are done away with and mankind attains to a happier fortune. [Hear, hear.] Now, that spirit is found in Mr. Garrison. He felt for the wrongs of a portion of his fellow-men; he at once devoted himself to the object of removing them; he encountered all kinds of danger, nearly death itself, in the pursuit of that salutary object, and he has happily lived to see the conquest of freedom over slavery, which, in the shape in which it prevailed in America and in our own colonies, has been rightly described by my noble friend as the worst evil that afflicted mankind. [Hear, hear.] Having said thus much with regard to Mr. Garrison, you will permit me to join in another sentiment expressed by the Duke of Argyll, and that is, that this may be an occasion which will tend to draw closer the ties of friendship and affection which ought to unite us with the United States of America. [Cheers.] We all know, unfortunately, that the condition of mankind is such that men seem to seek any occasion of difference in order to found upon it relations of hostility and hatred. Difference of race, of religion, of national institutions, all seem to be ground upon which those who are the natural enemies of affection and love among mankind implant sentiments of hatred and hostility, leading often, indeed, to bloody wars and to the most calamitous consequences to mankind. Well, if this be so, I am afraid it is little in our power to prevent those causes having that operation. May we not, however, feel that the relationships which exist between us and the United States of America—derived from the same race, having our birth from the same ancestors [hear, hear], having the Christian religion, having, although we have different institutions, the same love of freedom—may we not feel that these circumstances ought to impress us with affection and regard for those brethren of ours in the United States of America and make us perpetually friends? [Cheers.] Well, now, I have my own faults to acknowledge in this respect, because I certainly thought that when the slave States of America endeavored to establish their independence and at the same time to perpetuate the institution of slavery, the Northern States ought at once to have proclaimed not only their abhorence, but the abolition and destruction of slavery. Distance and want of knowledge of the circumstances of America may have caused me to fall into errror in that respect [cheers], but I was afterwards convinced by the distinguished and eminent man who represents the United States in this country—I mean Mr. Adams [cheers]—I was convinced by him, in frequent conversations upon the subject, that I had not rendered due justice to Mr. Lincoln, who was the friend of freedom, and not only the friend of freedom, but ultimately became the martyr for that cause. [Loud cheers.] I may now, therefore, acknowledge that the task which the government of the United States had to perform was a totally different task—and a much more difficult one—from that which we had to perform when more than thirty years ago we abolished slavery in the West India Islands. [Hear, hear.] Not having that slavery mixed up with our own domestic institutions; not having it involved and twisted into all our relations, whether political or social; not having what the United States had, the utmost difficulty in prevailing upon men whose interests were often bound up with the continuance of slavery, to disentangle all those ties, but merely looking upon it as a question for the liberation of mankind and as a religious question imposed upon us by our adherence to Christianity, I did not do justice to the efforts that were made by the United States government; and I am now persuaded that Mr. Lincoln did all that it was possible to do, and that we are bound to give our tribute of admiration to the excellent policy which Mr. Lincoln and his government pursued, and which has eventually ended in the entire liberation of the four millions of slaves. [Loud cheers.] I may well say, as my noble friend has just said, that with regard to those animosities which prevailed some eighty years ago between the people of this country and the people of the United States of America, all feelings of animosity have entirely departed from us, and that on the Fourth of July, which is approaching, Englishmen will feel as much admiration for the memory of Gen. Washington as a man, I believe, of the purest patriotism of all the great men who have existed in modern times, and as much rejoicing at the freedom and free institutions of America as the Americans themselves. [Cheers.] Well, then, if this be so, there is another reason for sympathy and rejoicing, which is this—that we and they have combined in treating the race of Africans as free in our communities, free to tread the path of industry, and free to distinguish themselves, as any of the white color can be amongst us. [Cheers.] Having this additional source of sympathy, let us hope that the friendship of the United States and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain may be a perpetual friendship, and that Mr. Garrison, among other feelings of gratification, may carry with him this reflection—that our meeting here to-day has tended to the better union of two races which ought never to be separated. [Cheers.]

Mr. J. S. MILL, M.P., said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—The speakers who have preceded me have, with an eloquence far beyond anything which I can command, laid before our honored guest the homage of admiration and gratitude which we all feel is due to his heroic career. It would be needless for me to expatiate upon things which have been far better said already than I could say them; I would rather endeavor to recall one or two lessons applicable to ourselves, which may be drawn from his career. A noble work nobly done always contains in itself not one but many merits; and in the case of him whose career and character we are here to consider, there are certain lessons which are specially deserving to be laid to heart by all who, like him, would wish to leave the world better than they found it. The first of these is to aim at things great and things difficult. [Hear, hear.] Let the world sneer or censure as it will, do not pare down your endeavors to the level of those who would seek to disparage them. Fear not the reproach of Quixotism and impracticability, or to be pointed at as the knight-errants of an idea. ["Hear, Hear," and a laugh.] After you have well judged what it is you undertake, when you see it clearly in its true form and dimensions, go forward, even though you do it at the risk of being torn to pieces, like Garrison, by the very men who will in the end be your friends, and aid you with their support. [Cheers.] He did all his work at great odds, with none to help but a small though heroic-minded band of supporters. [Hear, hear.] If you are right, the time will come when that small band will swell into a multitude. The time will come when you will have laid the foundation of something memorable and magnificent, and you may, like Garrison, be spared to see that work completed which, when you began it, you only hoped it might be given to you to forward. [Cheers.] The other lesson which appears to me important to enforce amongst the many that may be drawn from our friend's career is, that if you aim at something noble and succeed in it you will generally find that you have succeeded not in that alone. A hundred good and noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished, the more fully and the more certainly, the sharper and more agonizing has been the struggle which preceded the victory. The heart and mind of a nation are never stirred from their foundation without great and good fruits being produced, and in the case of the great American contest, these fruits have been already great, and are daily becoming greater. The prejudices which gather round the frame of society like rust, and of these there was a plentiful crop in America—are rapidly melting away. The chains of proscription have been broken; it is not only the slave who has been freed, but the mind of America has been freed. [Loud cheers.] The nation has been set thinking about the great questions of society and government; and the new problems which have to be solved, and the new difficulties which have to be encountered, have raised up the faculties of the people to corresponding activity, so that they have been freed, for many generations it is to be hoped, from one of the greatest dangers which can beset society—that of intellectual and moral stagnation. [Hear, hear.] This, then, is amongst the benefits which America and mankind owe to our friend, and it is well calculated to deepen our sense of his merits. Let us remember, then, that though our best directed efforts may often seem wasted and vain, with nothing coming of them that may seem likely to better our own lot or that of others, though they may happen ninety-nine times in a hundred, still the hundreth time the success may be so great and lasting as we have never even dared to hope for. [Loud cheers.]

The CHAIRMAN—I do not think it necessary to read the address over again; although its words may not remain constantly present to your minds, its sense I am quite sure is fixed in your hearts. I therefore propose that the address shall be passed unanimously, and that that unanimity shall be shown in the usual manner by the holding up of your hands.

The Chairman's call was responded to by the whole assemblage lifting up their hands, and Mr. Garrison, presenting himself in front of the platform, was received with an enthusiastic burst of cheering, hats and handkerchiefs being waved by nearly all present.

Mr. GARRISON said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—For this marked expression of your personal respect for my labors in the cause of human freedom, and your esteem and friendship for the land of my nativity, I offer you one and all my most grateful acknowledgments. I am so profoundly impressed by the formidable array of rank, intellect, and genius which I see before me, that I fear I shall not be able to address you except with a fluttering pulse and a stammering tongue. To me this is indeed an anomalous position; assuredly this is treatment with which I have not been very familiar. For more than thirty years I had to look the opposition of my native country in the face. In the South I was an outlaw, and could not have gone there though an American citizen, and though that flag [here the speaker pointed to the United States ensign] had been over my head. I could not have gone there except at the peril of my life, nay, with the certainty of finding a bloody grave. [Hear, hear.] In all the land I was looked upon with derision and contempt, and the whole nation, subjugated to the awful power of slavery, rose up in arms against any and every effort to proclaim liberty throughout all our soil and to all the inhabitants thereof. And yet I asked for nothing that was not perfectly reasonable; I was not the enemy of any man living. I have no enmities, I know nothing of them; and whilst the slaveholders were hunting me from my home, I never for a moment entertained any other feeling than an earnest desire under God to be able to deliver them from a deadly curse and an awful sin. [Hear, hear.] It was not a personal matter at all; it had reference to the eternal law of justice between man and man, and all I asked was that man should cease to be treated and regarded as a beast, and should be regarded as one bearing the image of his God. [Hear, hear.] Now, sir, I have always found in America that a shower of brick-bats had a tonic effect—it was materially strengthening to the back-bone; but to encounter the shower of compliments and applause which has greeted me on this occasion would, indeed, cause my knees to tremble and my heart to fail me, were it not that this occasion is not a personal matter at all—at least, only incidentally so. [Hear, hear

Never. And so it was all settled. [Great cheering.] Indeed, if we could only do this, we should never be led far astray; but the difficulty is that we seldom or never comply with the golden rule, "Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." [Hear, hear.] Here I wish to pay a brief tribute to the Abolitionists of America. Putting myself entirely out of the question, I believe that in no land at any time was there ever more devotion and abnegation of selfish interests than in America amongst that small band of men and women who dared to stand up against the foul and false slave system of the country. Nothing can be said in their praise which they did not deserve; they were willing to make themselves of no account, and to renounce all separate purposes. On this occasion I do not feel warranted in making particular references to any one, because I should like to begin at the beginning, and go all the way through with them, and not omit any who labored in the good cause. It was never my habit to make any question whether we should see the work completed in our own day, or what might be the opinions men formed in regard to us or to this cause which we labored to forward by the light of faith planted in us. God means that we should be blotted out; how then shall we plume ourselves upon our ability in having done any great thing? It is all of God; it has been done through the truth which is of God, and to no mortal shall there be any glory given, but the whole of it unto God! And so we are thankful that we are permitted to live to see this day, for our country's sake and for the sake of mankind, and we are glad to see that our reproach is taken away. It is better, if possible, to have the good opinions of our fellow-men, but if to gain those opinions we must part with rectitude and sully our souls, then no matter about bad opinions. [Hear, hear.] Their good opinions will then not be worth having. My only singularity in this whole matter was in being happily permitted to be the first to raise the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation. I am proud to say I did not unfurl that banner in a free State. I went to the State of Maryland and the city of Baltimore, as has been already mentioned; and there, because I denounced the domestic slave trade in especial, I was arrested, tried, and sent to prison for a time. Let me state a little anecdote in connection with that affair. In 1864, thirty-four years after I had been in prison, I went for the first time since then to visit Baltimore. I do not know that I could have gone at an earlier period, except at peril of my life; but the American government was there in force, and the soldiers of the army were there, and therefore it was possible for me to go there too. I was very curious to see the old prison, and if possible to get into the old cell again; but when I went to the spot, behold! the prison had vanished; and so I was disappointed. [A laugh.] On going to Washington I mentioned to President Lincoln the disappointment I had met with, and with great readiness of wit he said, "So, Mr. Garrison, the difference between 1830 and 1864 appears to be this—in 1830 you could not get out, and in 1864 you could not get in." [Great laughter.] This was not only wittily said, but it contained a truth very remarkable indeed; because I might have gone through the whole State of Maryland, denouncing slavery and the slave trade without stint, and nobody would have thought of bringing an action against me, or arresting me for the purpose of imprisoning me. Nay, Maryland herself had adopted the very doctrine for which she had imprisoned me, and given immediate and unconditional emancipation to 800,000 slaves. [Cheers.] Mr. Chairman, I commenced, as you remarked, the journal called the *Libera or* in Boston, in the year of grace 1831. At that time I was utterly unknown, without means, without friends, without resources, without money, and without a subscriber, and yet no sooner had that little sheet seen the light and travelled southwards, than the whole Slave Power was raised, as though the South had been invaded by an army with banners. Oh! how weak was the instrument that did this! At that time the whole country was on the side of the Slave Power—the Church, the State, all parties, all denominations were hand in hand, and everything was at its bidding. Yet that little *Liberator* threw the South into convulsions, and instantly led to the offer of a reward for my apprehension by the sovereign State of Georgia, of $5,000. When Gen. Sherman was going down South into Georgia, it recurred to me, but too late, that I ought to have gone down with him to claim the reward [laughter]—but then, on second thoughts, I remembered that of course I should have to take my pay in Confederate currency, and therefore it would not pay travelling expenses. [Great laughter.] Where is slavery now? [Cheers.] Henceforth, through all coming time, advocates of justice and friends of Reform that are and are to be, be not discouraged, for you will and you must succeed if you have a righteous cause. No matter how few may be prepared or disposed to rally around the standard you may raise, if you walk by justice—if your faith be a faith that cannot be shaken, because it is linked to the Eternal throne—it is only a question of time when victory has come to reward your toils. And slavery, the strongest thing in the world, I again ask, where is it now?

> "Lift up your hearts to God,
> For his voice has gone abroad.
> In the earthquake he has spoken,
> He has smitten with his thunder
> The iron walls asunder,
> And the gates of brass are broken."

And so it was, and so it ever will be throughout the earth, in every conflict for the right. [Great cheering.] Well, Mr. Chairman, I came to England for the second time in the year 1840, to attend the World's Convention of the Anti-Slavery Societies. All were invited to come and to send delegates to the Convention. The American Anti-Slavery Society chose me amongst its delegates, and I came. Now, some of the delegates were women—noble women, who had shown more of courage and of self-sacrifice and of self-devotion than any man in the United States. I may name one of them, at least—Lucretia Mott. [Cheers.] Intellectually, morally, religiously, and socially, the glory of their sex and of mankind, they came over with me, but they could not get into the Anti-Slavery Convention because they were women. [A laugh.] As they could not get in, I would not go in. [Cheers.] I said, "I will not dishonor them; I will not dishonor the Society which has given them the same credentials as myself, by creeping into a convention from which they were excluded at the doors." [Cheers.] I believe that since that time a considerable change has taken place on both sides of the Atlantic in the public sentiment in regard to the proper sphere of women. I rejoice that there is this growing interest in the cause of women, which is the cause of the whole world; for rely upon it, whether as respects the Government, the Church, or the State, the more we can gather up all the brains of the nation, the better will be the Church and the State in consequence. In other words, that one was given to the other, and that both being given the responsibility, they will do better than though any portion of them were deprived of that responsibility. [Hear hear.] I am glad to recognize on this platform one who recently stood up in his place in the House of Commons to advocate women's rights. [Cheers.] One of the most gratifying incidents of my life was to have been invited by the United States government, together with my dear friend and coadjutor, George Thompson, to accompany Gen. Anderson to Fort Sumter, to see the star spangled banner once more unfurled on its walls. There was a time when I hated the look of that flag. It was heavy with the blood of the slave, and I would not have it over my head. It was not my banner. It symbolises now a redeemed country, and I am therefore proud of it. We went in to Charleston, meeting with a very cordial reception at the hands of the freed men, who extemporised a procession of a mile or a mile and a half long, and composed of old and young, and with a band of music they marched us through all the principal streets of that city, singing "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul is marching on" [cheers]—and giving cheers for Abraham Lincoln and a good many other persons. I began the Anti-Slavery cause in the North in the midst of brick-bats and rotten eggs: I finished the struggle on the soil of Carolina, in Charleston, almost literally buried beneath the wreaths and flowers which were heaped upon me. [Cheers.] I have alluded to my friend George Thompson. You have all more or less participated in bringing slavery to an end, but in regard to my own country I know of not one who has done more, on the whole, to stir us up to a sense of our true condition and to hasten the day of jubilee than my coadjutor George Thompson. [Cheers.] By reason of his powerful eloquence he was, before I knew him, a mighty instrument in this country in overthrowing West Indian slavery [hear, hear]—and when I came for the first time to England, just as the Emancipation act was passing through Parliament, an act which the noble lord here [Earl Russell], who was, I believe, at that time in the Cabinet, had something to do with [cheers]—I said to Mr. Thompson, "Will you come over to the United States and plead the cause of the millions there in bondage?" I had nothing to offer him—no money—no reward of any kind. I did not, however, invite him to martyrdom. I did not then know that he would be exposed to the diabolical indignation which was afterwards aroused against him. I only knew that if he could obtain a hearing it would be all over with slavery. [Cheers.] I knew that no audience would be able to withstand the richness of his eloquence and the force of his arguments. But they would not hear him, and for more than a year he was hunted for his life, never flinching, never talking of beating a retreat, never unwilling to go anywhere, however dangerous it might be, until the Abolitionists compelled him to leave the country, for we would not have his blood on the garments of the American people. I think, therefore, it was exceedingly honorable on the part of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton to have singled out from all others in our land who belonged to other countries George Thompson to go with me and the company who went down to see the flag raised on the walls of Fort Sumter. [Cheers.] He has everywhere been received with honor, with admiration, and with gratitude in our country, and he deserves to have his name remembered to the latest posterity. [Renewed cheers.] Before I sit down, let me say a single word in regard to my own country. And first, as respects the war, I may say, as one who stood by the side of the government for conscience sake, that never was there a more causeless war in the world. The government of the United States had never at any time done anything in the way of injustice to the slave holding States; and the people of the North had never dreamt of doing any injustice whatever to them. On the contrary, even after secession took place, such was the infatuation of the North that it was willing to enter into fresh compromises for the sake of keeping the Union together, and up to to the time of the election of President Lincoln the Slave Power had always ruled our country and shaped our destiny. Even when he was chosen President, he had only the House of Representatives on his side. The Senate and the Supreme Court of the United States were against him, and on the side of the South. There was, therefore, no justification whatever, and the American government was wholly in the right, while the South was wholly in the wrong. [Hear, hear.] How, then, could I doubt where I should take up my position? I wanted to be wholly in the right, and not with anybody who was wholly in the wrong. [Hear, hear.] Yet there never was a war that came more necessarily and unavoidably. It was not because of this thing or of the other thing specially; it was not because of the Abolitionists simply, for the Abolitionists were the creation of slavery, and if the South had not had slavery there would have been no Abolitionists; but it was because of this: "You have not proclaimed liberty, every man to his brother and to his neighbor; therefore I proclaim liberty to you through the sword, pestilence and famine," and that is the whole story. We had slavery, and there followed rebellion and war—for we deserved to be visited with chastisement; and I am profoundly impressed with the justice of God as meted out to our whole country. There was always this difference between the South and the North. The South wanted slavery, and was willing to sacrifice everything in the world for slavery, while the North did not want slavery at all, but it wanted Union and peace. And so the Slave Power all the while was threatening—"If you do not yield a compromise such as I demand, then the Union shall be broken in pieces"—and the North yielded to the temptation. The North ought not to have yielded, whatever might have become of the Union. It was a Union which at that time deserved to be broken in pieces, and I pronounced then that the Constitution of the United States was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell because of its pro-slavery compromises, because it provided for a slave Congress in order to uphold the power of the slaveholder over his victim, because it provided for the seizure of fugitive slaves, and because it provided also for the suppression of any insurrection on the part of the slaves, should they think of imitating the example of those who on Bunker Hill showed their independence. Hence the Constitution was, as I have said, a covenant with death. Where is it now? Thank God it has gone. The covenant with death has been annulled [cheers]—the agreement with hell no longer stands, and now, instead of providing for the suppression of slave insurrections, the catching of slaves, and a slave Congress, it provides that no human being in the United States of America shall ever be held in bondage, and this is the mighty change which has taken place in our country. [Cheers.] I desire to return my thanks to those on this side of the Atlantic who, in the midst of our terrible struggle, were able to understand its nature, and to give a clear and unequivocal testimony in behalf of right. [Hear, hear.] I may, perhaps, be permitted to name one or two. Allow me, first of all, to name the Duke of Argyll, a peer of the realm, who, I think, all will now confess was, in point of clearness of vision, soundness of understanding, and accuracy of opinion relative to the real merits of the American struggle, without a peer. [Cheers.] Then there is our respected and honored chairman. [Great cheering.] We always felt remarkably bright when we got hold of his speeches. They were exactly to our mind. I cannot, of course, enumerate all who stood up firmly in behalf of rights as they apprehended it—a Mill, a Forster, a Standfeld, a Hughes, a Potter, a Taylor, and a Monckton Milnes, now the Right Hon. Lord Houghton—but without wishing to be invidious, I desire to pay my homage to those I have named in especial. ["Hear hear," and a Voice: "And Cobden."] Yes, the lamented Cobden, of course [cheers]—who, if he had been living now, doubtless would have been here on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) Then there are Professors Goldwin Smith, Newman, Huxley, etc. Then, amongst the newspapers, I must name the *Daily News* (cheers)—the *Morning Star* (loud cheers)—the *Spectator*, and the *Nonconformist*. (Cheers.) If my memory be not utterly at fault, I believe the *Times* is not to be included in this honored list. (Hear, hear.) If I do not utterly mistake, the *Times* was rather inclined to bring discredit upon the American government, but succeeded only in bringing discredit upon itself. (Cheers.) However, let us hope for better *Times* to come. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) I will now conclude by once more thanking you for this ovation, and this expression of your respect and kindness. I cannot tell you with what pleasure I listened to the speech of the noble lord by my side. (Hear, hear.) I know there was at one time a good deal of feeling in our country in regard to some things which had fallen from him, and which seemed to me if not hostile to, at least equivocal about our position. I do not wonder that there was a good deal of misconception and misapprehension on the subject. It was a very mixed up question for a long time, until President Lincoln sent forth his immortal proclamation (cheers)—and then the heart of England showed itself to be one and indivisible on this question of freedom. The noble lord never could exalt himself more by anything which he could do than he has done this day, by making a manly confession of his mistake. (Cheers.) I am sure that he who in his place in the Cabinet agitated the question of emancipation for the West Indies, never could have entertained a sentiment of hostility to the emancipation of the slaves in America. His name—Russell and Reform—the words are synonymous (cheers)—and having championed the old Reform through Parliament with great courage and fidelity, I expect to see him soon, with another Reform bill, furthering still more the work on behalf of the rights of men and the glory and prosperity of England. (Hear, hear.) Now, in parting, let me say we must not allow ourselves to be divided—America from England. By every consideration under heaven, let us resolve to keep the peace. (Great cheering.) If we have old grudges let them be thrown to the wind. (Hear, hear.) If there are any wrongs to be redressed, why cannot those wrongs be redressed without endeavoring to destroy one another on the battle-field? (Hear, hear.) Let there be peace—a true and a just peace—peace by forbearance (hear, hear)—peace by generous concessions—for the sake of the cause of mankind, and that we may lead the nations of the world to freedom and glory. (Cheers.) There is your country's flag—there is mine. Let them be blended. (Renewed cheers.) I will conclude by quoting some lines written by my friend Mr. Thompson some years ago, which will express all my feelings:

> "Then let us haste these bonds to knit,
> And in the work be handy,
> That we may blend 'God Save the Queen'
> With 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'"

(Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, who met with a most enthusiastic reception, next addressed the meeting, and observed that one of the happiest reflections of his life was that he should have lived thirty-four years from the time when a shake of the hand by his friend who had just addressed them turned the current of his life, and, so far as he could perceive, entirely changed the nature of his future occupation, and at the end of that period have seen him, his labor done and four millions to whom he had consecrated his life redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, honored in that hall by a meeting which, long and varied as his experience of public meetings had been, he must say was unique in its character. (Hear, hear.) Since, with his friend Mr. Garrison, he followed the coffin which contained all that was mortal of William Wilberforce to his last resting-place in the abbey adjacent, when princes of the blood royal, prelates of the church, and peers of the realm, the flower of England's nobility, and the cream of England's intellect, did homage to the memory of him who, when he commenced his work, was branded as a sickly sentimentalist. (Hear, hear.) Since that gathering beneath the fretted roof of Westminster Abbey, he had not seen another gathering of his countrymen and countrywomen similar in its character and position to the present. (Hear, hear.) He hailed this as a glorious sign of the times. (Hear, hear.) He prized it most of all because of the assurance it gave him that those who should succeed them in the carrying on of the work that they should leave unfinished, had but to be encouraged by what they had that day beheld, and of a surety they would not labor in vain. (Cheers.) He had ever loved America, and in her darkest days he believed in her ability to right herself. Three years and a half back he visited the country, and found it divided against itself, State against State, citizen against citizen, two Congresses, two armies, two Presidents, two constitutencies. But now the din of battle was hushed, the graves were covered up, the eyes that had been weeping were dried, and the monster war had devoured the monster slavery throughout their wide dominions. (Cheers.) In 1835 he had been denounced as an officious intermeddler, whose doctrines were to be held in loathing by all good citizens; in 1864 he was received with respect by the President of the United States in the halls of the Capitol at Washington, and invited to utter all that he had in his heart to say. (Great cheering.) He could bear witness to the heartfelt gratitude which the people of America cherished for all who in those hours of trial had spoken words of comfort and good cheer for them in this country. There was no human being whose name was more respected and beloved throughout the United States than that of their chairman, John Bright (loud cheers)—and all classes were full of sympathy and loving kindness for the suffering population of our manufacturing districts, who in 1861 and the following years had been exposed to so dire a trial. (Renewed cheering.) Most cordially did he join in the wishes expressed on all sides that day that lasting friendship might prevail between the two greatest countries in the world, and he would express his belief that the proceedings of that day would have no inconsiderable influence in bringing about that sublime consummation. (Cheers.) Amongst the greatest events of the century was the revolution which had raised 4,000,000 negro slaves to the status of free citizens, with equal rights; and if Englishmen wished to aid in the great work of reconstruction and reconciliation now going forward in America, the best thing to be done was to support efficiently the Freedmen's Aid Societies, and to multiply contributions for the maintenance of the schools now being established in the Southern States. (Hear, hear.) After some further remarks Mr. Thompson concluded amid loud cheers.

Mr. STANSFELD, M.P., was glad to have this opportunity of giving some expression, however brief and poor, to the reverence and affection with which he had always viewed the life and career of William Lloyd Garrison. He wished also to express the joy and enthusiasm he felt at the great results of a war of which only the strongest and most far-sighted minds among us could foresee the issues from the first. (Hear, hear.) There never was in the history of the world a struggle so vast for a purpose ultimately so good; never victory after sacrifice so gigantic, which redounded as they would redound and operate alike to the advantage of the conquered as of those who were conquerors, and to the advantage of the whole world. (Cheers.)

Mr. VERNON HARCOURT had a duty to discharge which he was sure must be as gratifying to all present as it was to himself—that of offering the thanks of the meeting to their chairman for his presidency. He could not help thinking that there was a great similarity in character between their chairman and their guest, both being marked by the same uncompromising spirit of truth and justice, and both fortunate enough to have seen the great questions and causes they advocated reach the hour of success and triumph. [Cheers.] He believed that the future of mankind was to be looked upon above all in the history of that great nation of the West which had sprung from our loins. It was the proudest reflection for an Englishman—and on looking westwards we might be allowed to feel pride—that that people derived from us those traditions of liberty, those instincts for government, those capacities for greatness, which had made them what they were, and would make them greater still. (Cheers.) Their guest of that day would carry back to America the prayer of that day, that there might be for ever and for ever peace and good will between the two nations, between his country and ours. (Cheers.)

The Hon. E. L. STANLEY felt honored by seconding the proposal just made, and in rendering their thanks to their chairman, they must all feel that they did so to one who had stood up for the cause of truth and justice in far darker times, and who was now blessed in seeing the consummation of his labors. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN—I stated at the beginning of the observations I addressed to the meeting that I considered it a signal distinction to be allowed to preside on this occasion. On looking back at our proceedings to-day I think we may congratulate ourselves on the probabilty that, besides doing what we intended to do, in showing honor to our illustrious guest, we have been able to do something to forward these great principles which it has been the object of his life to advance, and to which so many who are now here have in a smaller degree devoted their time and labor. (Hear, hear.) For your kindness to me I can only say that, though some men have occasionally ventured upon the opinion that the public is not grateful to those who attempt to serve it, yet for my share I have found during all my public life, that although there are men, as we all know, who sneer and oppose and misrepresent, yet all that is as nothing compared with the great stream of public opinion, public favor, and public friendship which every honest-minded public man in this country earns by his honest labors. (Cheers.) I shall not pretend to contradict the things that have been said in my favor. I have worked often only to be disappointed, but always in strength of faith, and I believe now that in all the future struggles which are before us, and, doubtless, there are many, constant labor, constant devotion, and unfaltering faith in those blessings which Providence always in the long run sends down upon us, will enable us to succeed. (Great cheering.) I thank you most heartily for your kindness, and for all the support you have given to-day to the great objects we have in view. I have lamented that some whom I have known in the United States could not be present—and for some of them I can hardly find words to say more distinctly why. Well do I recollect one of the greatest writers of America, who passed through this country to Italy to his grave—I mean Theodore Parker, a man eminent for his labors in the same cause. I refer with less sorrow to the absence of a lady whose writings created the most astonishing anti-slavery fervor in this country some years ago—Mrs. Stowe—writings which I will undertake to say brought more tears from the eyes of the people of this country than any other work that ever passed through the English press. She is in her country, engaged doubtless in good works, and to her it will be a satisfaction to read the account of the proceedings of this day. Wherever there is a friend of freedom they will give him pleasure, and wherever there is a human being suffering oppression I trust that what we have done to-day may give him hope. (Cheers.)

This closed the proceedings of a meeting in reference to which it may be remarked that there was but one universal sentiment amongst the great number present as to its impressiveness, and the important character which it assumed from the declarations of the speakers.

CAPABILITIES OF THE NEGRO.

OPINION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON—AN ORIGINAL LETTER.

HUDSON, Monday, July 15, 1867.

To the Editor of the Albany Evening Journal:

I WAS in the Convention on Friday, when Mr. Murphy adduced arguments from Thomas Jefferson against negro suffrage. I take the liberty of sending you a copy of a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Benjamin Banneker, in reply to one in which Banneker avows himself "freely and cheerfully, one of the African race, and of that color that is natural to them, the deepest dye."

The original of this letter is still in the possession of the family of my uncle, George Ellicott, from whose library (always open to him) Banneker obtained the books necessary to him in calculating his almanac. I will just add that at the formation of the society of the blacks in Paris by Lafayette, Condorcet, Brissot, Barnave and Gregoire, Banneker was again and again alluded to as proving the equality of race, while in the British House of Commons Pitt and Wilberforce often spoke of him as a man fitted to fill any position in society.

I might also mention that Benjamin Banneker was invited by and took part with the Maryland Commissioners in setting off the District of Columbia. Might not the negro then, as Mr. Gould pertinently suggested, assist in electing the town constables?

A LADY.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 30, 1791.

SIR: I thank you sincerely for your letter and the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit that Nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of the want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition of their mind to what it ought to be, as far as the imbecility of their present existence and other circumstances which cannot be neglected will admit.

I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac Mons. de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Science at Paris, and a member of the Philanthropic Society, because I consider it a document to which your whole color have a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your obedient, etc.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To Mr. B. Banneker.

A NEGRO soldier, a private of one of the West India regiments, which are composed entirely of blacks, officered by whites, has just received the "Victoria Cross," for bravery in the field. This is the first instance in which such a distinction has been conferred on a colored soldier in the British service.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

SPEECHES AND LECTURES, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the name of one new subscriber ($6), or for two new subscribers, $3 a year.

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WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,

Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,

39 Nassau street, New York.

THE REPUBLICAN PLAN.

THE patriots asked to have the President impeached and deposed. Congress has deposed him without impeachment.

"Friend, I'll not shoot thee," said the Quaker to the footpad; "but I *will hold thy head in the river until thee be drowned.*"

The Republican party has taken a leaf out of this scrupulous Christian's book. All patriotic men—those in office and those not so—demanded that the President be impeached and deposed. Some Radicals in office, like the son in the Gospel, said, "I go, sir, and went not." But the majority of Congress, like the other son, said, "I will not"—then "repented and went." But, after the Quaker's fashion, they skulked round the difficulty, instead of squarely meeting it. Unwilling to take away the man's office, they have accomplished about the same result by taking away his power. In Massachusetts we are very careful of the independence of the Judiciary; hence, to remove a bad Judge requires the consent of two-thirds of the Legislature and several solemn forms. But we reach the same end by *abolishing the Court;* which a simple vote of the majority can do. This saves, you see, the independence of the Judiciary! We have not touched the Judge, only left him nothing to do, and no salary to receive! So, in England, Heaven forbid that the land of the Tudors and the Stuarts should abolish royalty! We keep kings; but having, like the Egyptian mummy-makers, drawn out the blood, they become mere forms. The function of an English king is, like a queen bee, to be fed in prison and beget successors.

Congress has chosen the same path out of this present national difficulty. A year ago they changed the tenure of many civil offices and diminished very materially the patronage, while they crippled otherwise the power of the Executive. This step was taken to checkmate Johnson; but the law remains for all future Presidents, and is a wise provision. The Executive power had long been unduly increasing, and needed to be diminished. We ought to go further in this direction. The purity of our politics and the character of the government require that post-offices and all similar offices should be elective. The people would be better served and the government be saved from the exercise of a very hurtful power.

That statute took from the Executive one-third or one-quarter of its power. Unnoticed by the public, it is the beginning of a momentous and most beneficial change in our government. The Legislature, representing the people, is gaining on the Executive, which represents the government; as the House of Commons has gradually absorbed the Peers and the Throne.

The present session has made a large stride in the same path. It is a most marked sign of the times that the supplementary bill voted by the House, forbade the President to remove a District Commander in the rebel States *without the consent of the Senate.*

This would have taken the whole control of Reconstruction out of his hands. As it is, the plan voted by Congress practically ignores him. If he objects to anything done in rebeldom, his only remedy is to remove Sheridan and his fellows. But he knows that the projected session in November, is simply a proclamation: "Sir, if you allow things to go on without interference, you may continue to draw your salary and play at governing with your Cabinet, buy Russian continents or Sandwich Islands when you please; but put your hand into rebeldom, interfere with Sheridan, and we will impeach and remove you instanter." "Friend I will not shoot thee, but I will hold thy head under water until thee be drowned." Like Louis XVI., Mr. Johnson has become "Citizen-Veto," and not much more.

But in that "not much more" lies all the danger. The action of Congress is most healthy, and the wish of the House of Representatives to go further than the Senate shows how sound the masses are on this question. Conservative Republicans may mask the matter as they see best, and timid journals may sneer at impeachment as a dead issue; but this element in the House bill goes far to prove that the centre of gravity of the Republican party, its governing force and fountain-head, is *Radicalism;* that popular rumor does not much err when it asserts that the House has always been ready for impeachment, and stopped short of it only from fear of an unwilling Senate.

No matter how often the managers, like Hamlet, may shift their ground and seek to avoid the question—ever up from the depths of their power below comes, like the Ghosts warning, this unappeased popular demand, "Remove the traitor President or crush him." And the nearer you get to the people the readier the compliance. Witness the action of the House.

But much as we have gained, the end is not yet. However crippled, the President of the United States is a great power. George III. was but the image of a king compared with the Henrys and the Edwards; but he had power enough to make England lose America. Johnson, as he stands to-day, is but a pasteboard Jackson; but, in these critical times, the risk is great even with such a lame and broken-winged President.

Republicans believe that this method of deposing him risks less chance of reaction and popular sympathy. It may be so. We give all due weight to the judgment of those who, fearful for the party, prefer this style of defence. But the times are so uncertain that it is not safe to despise the most disgraced man so long as he sits in the White House and wields even one-half of a President's power. Congress makes Grant President to-day, instead of waiting for a popular election. We should have preferred the Constitutional method of impeachment, which would have given us Wade. Put Stevens or Wade in the White House, and there would be no need, as now, for active Radicals to band themselves together in "Reconstruction Associations" and Union Leagues," to do work the party neglects, or to watch posts which the party is afraid to man.

We are no sticklers for forms. We have no hunger for Johnson's punishment. The same reasons which called for Davis's punishment—self-respect, justice and security for the future—called for a mark on Johnson. But the Nation which has survived Davis's release and the pardon of a thousand lesser wretches, can afford to throw Johnson's escape, like any other trifle, into the bargain. What we do demand of Congress is thorough work in the path it chooses. If maudlin sentiment or timid party scheming refuse to give us the straight, stern method of justice; give us something equally effectual. Let Johnson sign commissions, receive ambassadors and make progresses through the realm to tickle the lieges; but do not allow his will one feather's weight in settling the great business we have on hand. Follow out the plan of the House bill. Apprentice him to the Senate. Except for the title and the salary, let him sit in the White House as dead and powerless as Buchanan at Lancaster.

Congress adjourns as we write this. A review of the whole session, and specially its closing action, discourage us. We have sketched above the Republican plan as we understood it, hoping that the *action* of Congress would show us a real faith in it and an earnest purpose to make it efficient. No such action has been taken. Some of the rank and file of the party may believe in it; with the leaders it is only a mask and a farce. The session has been merely a Presidential caucus to help one candidate and hurt another. Its botching legislation will prove a failure. The President will behave as badly as he can. Impeachment and removal is the only remedy. Those who urge it are the only men in earnest and single-eyed; the others have each an axe to grind.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE copy from the London *Morning Star* a full report of Mr. Garrison's reception in England; an interesting chapter in the history of the Anti-slavery movement, and a well deserved tribute to his eminent services in the early and darkest days of the cause and through its weary noon. From the picture given of the present state of the question, we, of course, dissent and only wish that melancholy facts did not so sadly and fully contradict it.

On Lord Russell's maudlin talk—point no point—it would be waste of time to comment.

Mr. SUMNER in the Senate, just before the adjournment on Saturday last, offered the following significant resolutions. They were ordered to lie upon the table, and will come up for consideration at the opening of the next session:

IMPEACHMENT.

Resolutions declaring the privilege of debate in the Senate with regard to civil officers liable to impeachment:

Whereas, It has been asserted that the conduct of a civil officer liable to impeachment cannot be freely considered and condemned by Senators in the course of legislative proceedings; and

Whereas, Such an opinion is calculated to impair the just privileges of debate; therefore,

Resolved, That the Constitution, in providing for the impeachment of all civil officers under the National government, embracing the President, members of the Cabinet, diplomatic representatives, and other civil functionaries, did not intend to limit debate in the Senate on the conduct of any such civil officers, so far as the same may arise in legislative proceedings; that any other interpretation is inconsistent with the privileges of the Senate, and tends directly to shield misconduct in civil officers.

Resolved, That the Constitution expressly declares that when sitting to try an impeachment, the Senate shall be on oath or affirmation, thus superadding a judicial oath to that already taken as Senators; that from the taking of this oath the judicial character begins, and until then, each Senator is free to express himself openly on the conduct of any civil officer, and thereupon to invite the judgment of the Senate and the country; that at times this may be a duty, and it is always a sacred right which cannot be renounced.

THE debate upon the suffrage question has continued in the Constitutional Convention at Albany during the past week. The final vote upon the report of the Committee is to be taken this (Wednesday) evening. The amendment offered by Mr. Curtis to extend the ballot to women was rejected by a vote of 24 to 63. The old pro-slavery virus which has so long infected the Democratic party, has made itself apparent in the persistent opposition to the abolition of the property qualification for colored voters. While we should have been much pleased if Mr. Curtis's amendment extending the ballot to women could have been adopted, we are gratified that the measure was supported by even so much strength. It is a great gain upon the past, and is prophetic of complete success in the not distant future.

A NUMEROUSLY attended suffrage convention was held at Trenton, N. J., on Tuesday, the 23d inst., under the auspices of the Republican State Committee. The Convention was addressed by Senator Wilson and others, and an address and resolutions were adopted proposing to abolish all political distinctions on account of color in New Jersey.

In the evening, says the *Tribune*, a mass meeting was held, and the Hon. James M. Scovel made an eloquent speech, which was loudly applauded. Other speakers followed, and among the number a colored man named Ware.

SENATOR WILSON, we are glad to observe, introduced in the Senate a resolution, which will come up for consideration at the next session, proposing another amendment to the Federal Constitution, to prohibit unequal legislation by Congress, or in any State, on account of color or race.

THE XLth Congress adjourned its Summer session on Saturday last, to re-assemble on the 21st of November. Its proceedings are reviewed in an important letter which we present herewith from Washington.

MR. RICHARD MASON, a highly respectable colored man of Baltimore, Md., will hereafter act as agent for THE STANDARD in that city. His address is No. 27 West Fayette street.

THE STANDARD IN NEW ORLEANS.—THE STANDARD may now be obtained regularly each week in New Orleans of A. SIMON, Esq., No. 85 Barome street.

THE PENNSYLVANIA WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE.—The "Eighteenth Annual Announcement" of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania shows that that institution is in a prosperous condition. There are three female professors, and four gentlemen instructors. The degree of M.D. was conferred at the last commencement on ten graduates. The faculty says:

"In making this announcement the corporators and faculty take pleasure in assuring the friends of the college of its increasing prosperity. A larger number of students attended its last session of lectures than had attended in any previous year, and a greater proportion were women of good preliminary education, and possessed of the determination and the means to make their studies thorough. A spirit of industry and of earnest enthusiasm pervaded the class; not a blind haste to rush through the prescribed routine and win the diploma, but an appreciative interest in every department of the study, and a willingness to go step by step over the broad field."

THE Columbia (Hudson, N. Y.) *Republican* of the 23d inst. says: "Arrangements are being made for a grand celebration of the colored people along the Hudson River, to be held at Hudson on the first Monday in September. It is the intention to have one of the largest ever held. Frederick Douglass, Prof. Day, D.D., Revs. Garnet and Loguen, and a number of others will be the speakers of the occasion. Invitations sent to different societies have very generally been accepted, and it seems likely that there will be a large gathering of colored people."

THE SUMMER SESSION OF THE FORTIETH CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22, 1867.

SECRETARY MCCULLOCH in a speech a little more than a year ago called Congress a set of tinkers. The epithet has been deemed offensive, but in view of recent events it seems to be not undeserved. The session commencing on the 3d of July and ending on the 20th was mainly devoted to the tinkering of the Reconstruction bill, and it should be called the tinkering session. It is now confidently expected that the leaky vessel will hold water, but a Legislative body composed principally of lawyers knows well enough that there never yet was a statute framed through which an ingenious attorney like Stanbery could not drive his chariot and six dragons. After the insolent and defiant veto message of the President, is there a Republican Senator or representative besotted enough to believe that there is any purpose whatever on the part of the Executive to enforce the will of Congress? We will not think so meanly of their intelligence as to question their entire unbelief. How then is their adjournment without taking any measures for the impeachment and removal of the President to be explained or justified on any rational ground? The session was a farce, and the adjournment a deliberate betrayal of the safety of the country, in the face of the warning and counsel of their ablest and truest members.

Let us briefly review the Tinkering Session. In the House Messrs. Stevens, Butler, Boutwell, Kelley, Schenck, Williams, Julian and a number of others made a strong but unsuccessful fight to defeat adjournment and bring Congress face to face with its paramount duty; but the impossibility of keeping members here, the attractions of the sea-shore and the mountains, together with causes we shall mention hereafter, prevented anything like an honest attention to the serious business of the country. After securing a quorum a number of members went home. If these gentlemen do not receive a reckoning at the hands of their constituents, then those constituents are more debauched than we believe them to be. When a man accepts a grave public trust from the people, a decent self-respect should forbid his shirking its duties. What right has he to plead his personal convenience or his pleasures as opposed to the plain requirements of public duty? Yet this has been constantly done by members of both houses. If personal circumstances prevent his serving the people whose suffrages he has sought and whose servant he is, the honest course for him is to resign. It should not be forgotten that Congress, in its indecent haste to adjourn, allowed the President to pocket an important bill for the securing of Equal Rights in the District of Columbia, a bill to enable colored men to hold office here.

This measure had been carefully matured and it would seem, if it were worth while to pass it at all, it was worth while to see that it became a law. But no such consideration seemed to have weight with this Tinkering Congress. It slunk away as soon as its tinkering was done, leaving the country to the mercy of Andrew Johnson until the 21st of November—the date adopted by a conference committee as a "statesman-like" substitute for the ordinary commencement of Congress on the first Monday of December. What is expected to be gained by those ten days is one of the mysteries of "practical statesmanship."

The Senate commenced its tinkering by the adoption of a perfectly illegal and perfectly ridiculous resolution that no other business but Reconstruction should be done at this session. Mr. Sumner's manly protest against this gag law has been read and admired by the country. Although the Senate had not the decency to rescind this disgraceful resolution, it was repeatedly and deliberately ignored whenever it suited the purposes of the majority to do so. Mr. Fessenden was unusually offensive, even for him, in his remarks on Mr. Sumner's course in refusing to be bound by a caucus that had decreed an unconstitutional measure. His venomous attacks on Mr. Sumner recoil upon his own head. Charles Sumner stands like a rock on which malice, envy and ambition spend their fury in vain. They cannot get over, around or under him, and as he reviews his proud record, he can point to measure after measure of justice and truth proposed by him to one Senate and rejected, only to be adopted by the next. Mr. Fessenden, in a somewhat elaborate defence of his public career on the last day of the session, in reply to some remarks by Mr. Chandler, referred to his own record as one of which he was proud.

If a pitiful story of bitter opposition to every measure of statesmanship which has saved the nation by decreeing equal rights to all men, can be called a proud record, he certainly has it. In the light of that record it will be difficult for either his contemporaries or posterity to believe that one honest pulse for human liberty ever beat in his bloodless frame.

Mr. Sumner was persistent and indefatigable throughout the session in demanding that the Senate should throw open the door to measures of vital importance to the country, and that they should not leave the nation in the hands of a trait

to go home and abandon these Union men a prey to the President."

No warning could be more impressive or emphatic than this, and Congress in disregarding it without an attempt to answer its logic, has set the seal upon its own condemnation. There never was a plainer duty placed before man than this, *that Congress should remain in continuous session until Andrew Johnson is impeached and removed.*

The causes that prevent impeachment are, briefly the intriguing of cliques for the Presidential succession, the cowardice of the old Whig element in the party, and the timidity of the National Bank interest, to which must be added the natural depravity of politicians generally. The House at the last moment voted to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report the testimony on impeachment forthwith, but the adjournment five minutes later will probably prevent the country from seeing this important evidence until December. We have the statement of Messrs. Boutwell and Wilhams, certainly the two oldest members of the Committee, that the evidence is ample and conclusive.

Mr. Thomas Williams, who ranks at the head of the Pennsylvania Bar, spoke as follows in the debate of Friday, the 19th: "But by way of protest against declarations and insinuations of members on his side of the House, he would say that there was a case in which all that was to be found of tyranny in the annals of the Tudors and the Stuarts had been rehearsed and reiterated by the present Chief Magistrate. He would say for himself as a lawyer, bred to the study of the great principles of government, and having made himself familiar with the progress of constitutional liberty in England from its early and rude beginning in the Magna Charta down to its consummation in the revolution of 1688, that there was no case in the parliamentary history of England in which were aggregated as many enormities as were to be found here, and he for one was prepared to make good against all comers all he had said whenever the House would afford him the opportunity."

The whole debate was deeply interesting and instructive. The floundering of Mr. James F. Wilson, of Iowa, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who leads the anti-impeachment party of the House, in reply to these statements, would be ridiculous, if his course were not also painfully disastrous to the country.

Thaddeus Stevens, in closing the debate, told his friends in favor of the impeachment that it was of no use—that there was a sufficient number in one house to prevent impeachment, and a sufficient number in the other to prevent conviction, and that secret influences were at work which shielded the White House with an impenetrable panoply. What are these secret influences which shield the White House of which he speaks? We can tell the country what the dauntless old statesman saw fit to withhold.

These secret influences are the determination of the Grant and Chase factions that Ben Wade shall not be made President through impeachment, thereby giving him the first chance for the nomination of the party in 1868.

It is well known that Chief-Justice Chase has been bringing his personal influence to bear upon members of both houses, both directly and indirectly, against impeachment during the last two weeks. The Chief Justice of the United States descending from his high place to intrigue for his own nomination to the Presidency, by opposing an impeachment at the trial of which he would have to preside, and because such impeachment would benefit a rival candidate, is a humiliating spectacle. Comment is unnecessary. The statement of the fact is enough.

Mr. Chase's mania for the Presidential office is a melancholy exhibition, of which we have had many painful examples among our public men. Notwithstanding the activity of his friends, and the wealth of the Bank interest pledged to his support, we tell him plainly that he has not the ghost of a chance. He has no popular strength whatever. The mention of his name makes not a single ripple of feeling or enthusiasm in any quarter. Why will he not save himself from inevitable mortification and disgrace by refusing longer to draggle the robes of his high office in the mire of caucuses and conventions?

The Grant faction, led by Henry Wilson, is just now in the ascendant, and they confidently expect to dragoon the Radical Republicans into his support by the old cry of expediency, and the permanent importance of success. These are the same tactics that saddled us with Andrew Johnson; and we give these gentlemen fair warning that we shall fight that nomination to the last extremity. The cause of liberty in this country is not to be sold out twice on the same plan without a determined struggle. The Republican party has a number of statesmen, any one of whom on a radical platform would be unobjectionable, and would receive our hearty support. Prominent among these is the name of OLD BEN WADE. We are not, however, wedded to the interests of any candidate, but the attempt to crowd down our throats a man of doubtful generalship and unknown principles will be resisted with every weapon we can command. BRANDON.

PERSONAL.

Chief-of-Police Dimon of Mobile has ordered the disbandment of all military organizations among the colored people of that city.

Senator Pomeroy asserts that after November 8th, the ballot will, in all probability, be accorded to the women of his own State—Kansas.

The Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D., of this city, was the orator at the commencement of the Connecticut Literary Institute, a Baptist school at Suffield.

Marshall Crane, a colored man, has obtained a divorce from his wife in a Chicago court, on the ground of excessive cruelty on her part—the first case of the kind in Illinois.

Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, on Thursday, the 18th inst., which, in a later issue, we hope to present in full to our readers.

The Rev. Samuel Longfellow has been engaged to preach for six months, commencing in the early Autumn, by the Thirty-Eighth Congregational (the late Rev. Theodore Parker's) Society of Boston.

Anna E. Dickinson, who has been for several weeks past at Orient Point, L. I., has gone to New England for the remainder of the Summer. Her correspondents may address her at Philadelphia.

Mr. W. W. Broom, editor of the *Temple of Opinions*, has been suffering recently from severe illness, but is now convalescent. He entertains a prospect of engaging in the campaign at the South, in support of radical men and measures, at an early day.

Our friend Nathaniel Barney writes, with reference to a statement contained in his letter which appeared in THE STANDARD of July 6: "Mary Starbuck, the wife of Nathaniel Starbuck, was not born on Nantucket. *Their* daughter Mary was the first English child born on the island."

George William Curtis, on the 18th inst., offered an amendment to the Report of the Suffrage Committee in the Constitutional Convention, proposing to extend the ballot to woman. He supported the amendment by an address of marked ability and eloquence—by far the ablest address which has yet been delivered before the Convention.

Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, of this city, was among the invited guests at the corporation dinner given in the city of Baltimore, Md., on Independence Day. He was most cordially received, and delivered an address in response to a complimentary toast. This is one of many incidents which indicate the progress of the great revolution in opinion at the South. Fourteen years ago Dr. S. left Baltimore, virtually as an Anti-Slavery exile.

The Rev. Edward C. Towne of Medford, Mass., intends, we understand, to enter the lecture field the coming season. He has prepared a lecture entitled "John Brown—a Lesson of American Manhood." Mr. Towne is a gentleman of fine talent, of scholarly culture, a radical thinker, and thoroughly in earnest. A lecture from him upon the theme he has chosen, will be exceedingly interesting and valuable. We take pleasure in introducing him to the notice of Lecture Committees. He refers, by permission, to Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

A *Tribune* letter from Vicksburg says: John M. Langston, the colored orator of Ohio, arrived her yesterday (1st) just in time to attend our State Convention. He spoke this evening to a large audience of both races at the Court House. A number of our leading citizens were present. The subject was "Education," and it was well handled. He delivered an oration at Natchez, on the 4th, and returns here next week. We anticipate great results from his labors.

The Onondaga *Standard* of last week says: "Rev. S. J. May started for Boston yesterday, to be absent probably four or six weeks. He goes to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of his class from Harvard College, and expects to meet the surviving members of the class of 1817. The number of graduates of the class was sixty-seven, and thirty-two of them are still living, and among them are Hon. Geo. Bancroft, Hon. Caleb Cushing, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, Rev. Dr. Tyng of New York, Rev. Dr. Jones of Philadelphia, Geo. B. Emerson, LL. D., Hon Chas. H. Warren, Rev. D. Wood, and others. How many will attend the anniversary remains to be seen."

The Charleston (S. C.) *Advocate* of the 13th inst., in a notice of Mrs. F. E. W. Harper's lectures, says: This estimable and noble Christian lady, gave her closing lecture for the season, in this city, on Monday evening at the Wentworth street church, to an intelligent and appreciative audience. She gave the entire proceeds to a benevolent object. Mrs. Harper has been lecturing some three months upon topics of vital interest to the people, in different parts of this State and in Georgia. Crowds of people, both colored and white, have flocked to hear her, and her fame among the more intelligent classes has increased from her first effort among us. Her style is peculiarly her own—simple, artless and impressive. She leaves us amid the benedictions of thousands who will gratefully remember her, as the Heroine patriot of her race.

A dispatch from Chicago says: The suit of Gerrit Smith against the Chicago *Tribune* for libel, laying the damages at $50,000, was settled on Saturday after personal interviews between Mr. Smith and the *Tribune* proprietors. Mr. Smith charges that the *Tribune* accuses him of feigning insanity and taking refuge in an asylum to avoid the consequences of complicity in the John Brown raid. This intimation, the *Tribune*, upon the strength of the depositions from the medical men to Mr. Smith's real insanity, retract, and admit that he was really insane. They add, that they have Mr. Smith's assurance that while personally ignorant of John Brown's intended raid into Virginia, he loved and admired Brown, his principles, and his courage, and that he reveres his memory. This statement the *Tribune* will publish. The suit has been dismissed.

Hon. Charles Sumner was in the city on Monday last, en route from Washington to Boston. He is in excellent health, and bears remarkably well an amount of hard work, equalled by few if any of our public men. He sought earnestly to keep Congress in perpetual session, as long as the helm continues in the hands of the present treasonable Executive. He is not very hopeful of favorable results from the recent reconstruction legislation entrusted to the President, without immediate Congressional oversight. He claims for Congress the right to settle the question of suffrage, with reference to color or race, upon a uniform basis throughout all the States, North and South, without further Constitutional amendment, and intends to vigorously press that issue at the next session. Mr. Sumner estimates highly the value of THE STANDARD as an efficient and greatly needed instrumentality in carrying forward to complete success the work to which for twenty-seven years it has been devoted.

The Rev. Photius Fisk, of Boston, in a letter commenting upon Hon. Gerrit Smith's proposition that Congress should "lend fifty millions of dollars to the Confederate States—to each of them so much as would be proportionate to her population and to what she has suffered from the ravages of the war, says: "I am astonished that our esteemed Anti-Slavery friend should propose to lavish fifty millions of dollars in trying an experiment on those detestible Southern rebels, who as yet have shown no repentance worthy the name for their crime and folly; who are not even decently loyal, as facts every day coming to our notice amply testify; and who would have been glad, I believe, to have shot Senator Wilson, as they tried to shoot Judge Kelley at Mobile. If we are to extend sympathy to any class of the Southern people, let it be to those who are deserving, and to whom we are indebted. *This* I would call simple honesty; the *other* sickly *humanity.*"

A short time since, says the *American Baptist*, the Rev. T. W. Conway, who has been travelling in the Southern States, met in New Orleans the brother of Fred. Douglass. He at once gave him a letter of introduction to James J. Spelman of our office, requesting him to assist him through this city, en route to Rochester, to find his brother. Mr. Spelman has just received from Mr. Douglass the following letter of acknowledgment, which we are sure will be deeply interesting to every lover of his race.

ROCHESTER, July 11, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR: On my arrival here from Virginia, two days ago, I found my lost brother Perry and his family safely arrived at my house, and send this merely to express my thanks to you for your kind offices towards him and them. The meeting of my brother after nearly forty years separation, is an event altogether too affecting for words to describe. How unutterably cursed is slavery, and how unspeakably joyful are the results of its overthrow! The search now being made and the happy reunions now taking place all over the South after years of separation and sorrow, furnishes a subject of the deepest pathos.

Truly yours, FRED. DOUGLASS.

John Stuart Mill has addressed to S. N. Wood, of Topeka, Kansas, a letter on the subject of woman suffrage. The letter was written, says the Topeka *Record*, without solicitation from any one in America. Mr. Mill says:

BLACKHEATH PARK, Kent, England, June 2.

DEAR SIR: Being one who takes as deep and as continuous an interest in the political, moral and social progress of the United States as if he were himself an American citizen, I hope I shall not be intrusive if I express to you as the executive organ of the Impartial Suffrage Association, the deep joy I felt on learning that both branches of the Legislature of Kansas had by large majorities proposed for the approval of your citizens an amendment to your Constitution, abolishing the unjust political privileges of sex at one and the same stroke with the kindred privilege of color.

We are accustomed to see Kansas foremost in the struggle for the equal claims of all human beings to freedom and citizenship. I shall never forget with what profound interest I and others who felt with me watched every incident of the preliminary civil war in which your noble State, then only a Territory, preceded the great nation of which it is a part, in shedding its blood to arrest the extension of slavery.

Kansas was the herald and protagonist of the memorable contest, which at the cost of so many heroic lives, has admitted the African race to the blessings of freedom and education, and she is now taking the same advanced position in the peaceful but equally important contest which, by relieving half the human race from artificial disabilities belonging to the ideas of a past age, will give a new impulse and improved character to the career of social and moral progress now opening for mankind. If your citizens, next November, give effect to the enlightened views of your Legislature, history will remember that one of the youngest States in the civilized world has been the first to adopt a measure of liberation destined to extend all over the earth and to be looked back to (as is my fixed conviction) as one of the most fertile in beneficial consequences of all the improvements yet effected in human affairs. I am, sir, with the warmest wishes for the prosperity of Kansas, yours very truly,

J. STUART MILL.

To S. N. Wood, Topeka, Kansas, U. S. A.

OBITUARY.

THOMAS INGLIS.

ON the afternoon of Thursday, June 27, we were saddened with the intelligence of the sudden demise of our companion, THOMAS INGLIS, who was stricken with disease of the heart while on a visit of consultation to a physician. Though he had been far from robust for several years past, there were no symptoms to excite particular apprehension; and he had been in his place in THE STANDARD printing-office only two days before, apparently in nearly his usual health.

The deceased was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1832. He entered this office as an apprentice about eighteen years ago, while THE STANDARD was under the editorial management of Sydney Howard Gay, and has been engaged upon it the greater part of the time since. A cheerful, industrious, unobtrusive young man, faithful in the discharge of his duties, courteous and gentlemanly in his intercourse with his fellows, and always generous and obliging, he won the sincere respect and good-will of all with whom he was associated.

He was a member of the Eighty-fourth Regiment, N. G. S. N. Y., and his funeral was conducted with military honors by his company.

We shall see him no more in his accustomed place, and shall miss him; still, while we keep in remembrance his many good qualities and kindly acts, we do not repine over the inevitable change. His dissolution was sudden, and seemingly unaccompanied with suffering, and was probably unlooked for by himself; but we know he did not regard death with misgiving, and we believe that all is well.

"Awake him not! surely he takes his fill
Of deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, July 21st, 1867.

A JOINT COMMITTEE of our City Council have been hearing petitioners and remonstrants in regard to a proposition to open the Reading-room of the Public Library between 2 p.m. and 10 p.m. on Sundays. The history of this movement is as follows:

In May last, petitions were sent to the City Council, asking that this portion of the Library, where the services of only one attendant are required at any one time, may be opened to the public at the hours above specified. The Board of Aldermen (having first learned, by inquiry of the Trustees of the Library, that the proposed measure was practicable, if the City Council should deem it expedient) passed an order to that effect, which was sent to the Common Council for concurrence. Before they had acted upon it, remonstrances against the measure were sent in by clergymen and others, and the subject was referred to a Joint Committee who gave public notice that both parties could be heard before them at the City Hall, on Friday, July 11th.

The remonstrants were there in great force, showing a formidable array of grave and reverend Seigniors, seven of whom spoke in opposition to the opening of the Reading-room at the time in question. The Committee had decided to give a hearing first to the remonstrants, in full, and then to the petitioners.

The most elaborate of these efforts was an argument written and read by Rev. J. M. Manning of the "Old South" church—a gentleman whose high character and unblemished reputation did not save him from being stigmatized, lately, as a "Doctor of Divinity," by the authorities of Amherst College. He says, and I believe, that he had done nothing to deserve such an infliction; perhaps the Faculty that issued this diploma, judging that "a man is known by the company he keeps," and regardless of the extenuating circumstances in the case, considered that Mr. Manning *ought* be classed with his colleague, Dr. Blagden; or, may this award possibly have been made by the spirit of prophecy, fastening this designation upon the man who was shortly to make an unsound argument in aid of one of their cherished traditions and customs.

The argument of Mr. Manning on this occasion was, I think, decidedly and utterly unsound; being an attempt to show that the city government, by granting the prayer of the petitioners, would become the propagandist of certain religious opinions; would "sectarianize" the Public Library; that "meddling with religious ideas," they would bring about "that union of Church and State which our fathers so struggled to destroy;" and that a measure having these characteristics would be an injustice to the tax-payers, who furnish a portion of the expenses of the Public Library.

To your correspondent it seems that the facts are precisely opposite to this statement; that, in granting an innocent and useful indulgence to persons who ask for it and need it, without infringing on the liberty of any other persons, the City Council do *not*, in any manner or degree, meddle with religious ideas; that to add one more half-day's usefulness to the Reading-room by an extension of the very method in which it is now useful is *not*, in any manner or degree, to "sectarianize" it; but that on the contrary, the measure in question is only the attempt to put aside one item of a sectarianism already improperly incorporated with our customs and laws, namely, the prohibition of things innocent and right to a portion of the community on Sundays, because the peculiar theological ideas of a different portion of the community prevent *them* from sharing in the indulgence. It is by no means *for* a union of Church and State—it is, on the contrary, against a long ago completed union of Church and State in one particular, that the petitioners in this case are contending.

The basis of ground taken by those who represented the remonstrants was the assumption that Sunday is "the Christian Sabbath," although the Christian Scriptures make no such claim. Besides this fundamental misrepresentation, several of these gentlemen showed gross ignorance of the contents of the Reading-room as well as of its rules and customs. Thus, Rev. Mr. Case (seemingly quite unaware that this department of the Library does not contain the daily papers, and does contain all the best Reviews and Magazines, religious, scientific and literary, domestic and foreign) said, that men need not go there to read, because they could buy the same things for 3 or 6 cents outside. And Deacon Charles Stoddard, apparently not knowing that the publications in the Reading-rom are not allowed to be taken from the building, said that the opening on Sunday was needless, since people could take the books home with them on Saturday night. He thought too that courtesans and their paramours would resort to that room (a room where conversation is forbidden, and perfect quiet always maintained!) to arrange for future meetings!

Although none of the petitioners had asked for the opening of any part of the Library but the Reading-room on the lower story, where, as I have said, only one attendant is required at any one time, several of the remonstrants made pathetic complaints of the cruelty of keeping *all* the *employés* of the Library at their usual work on Sundays; and one Reverend gentleman maintained that the measure asked was equivalent to "a demand that no *employé* shall believe in a Christian Sabbath." He also saw in it "a tendency towards the experience of revolutionary France." He thought "this movement would unchain the tiger," etc., etc.

From the beginning of the session, for some reason or other, the large party of remonstrants had seemed disconcerted and alarmed; and about the middle of the afternoon, one of them rose and asked that the hearing might be deferred until October, some of their advocates being now out of the city. Another seconded the request, saying that "they were taken unawares by this hearing;" although they had asked for it many weeks before, and although they had the same notice of it as the other party, by three days advertisements in the newspapers. The Committee thereupon agreed to adjourn, not until October, which would be inconvenient to them, but till the Tuesday following; at which time another session was held in the same place.

On the occasion Harvey Jewell, Esq., presented himself as counsel, authorized to conduct the case for the remonstrants. It might seem strange at first sight, that a body of clergymen, assembled to present one of their theological dogmas in bar to a movement in aid of popular education, should think that their case could be better represented by a lawyer than by themselves; but the course taken by this lawyer seemed to show that his clients *needed* to have legal tricks and technical obstructions substituted for a plain statement of the grounds of their case. Instead of showing why these Reverend gentlemen (who had been the first to ask for a hearing) wanted to keep the doors of the Reading-room shut on Sundays, he demanded first to be told why anybody else wanted them open; and, after the modest requisition that the Committee, for the convenience of himself and his clients, should change the method of procedure which they had decided on, and which had been carried into effect through one session, he spent most of his opening address in attempting to bully the Committee out of their position.

This modest attempt having failed, Mr. Jewell proceeded to call evidence; and he actually succeeded in proving (what everybody knew before) that many ministers dislike whatever comes in competition with their pulpits, and that churches which have agreed to spend Sunday in a certain way wish to impose their own idea on the rest of the community.

The *animus* of the remonstrants was well expressed by Rev. Mr. Fulton, pastor of a Baptist church, who said that after the churches were full on Sundays, he would be willing to open the Public Library "as a preaching-place." He would open it to promote the professional interests of his order, the clergy; with the wish of the common people to use its advantages on Sunday in the ordinary manner he has no sympathy.

A large number of Reverend gentlemen were brought forward by Mr. Jewell to protest against the opening of the Reading-room, all making the *assumption* of their creed, namely, that God, and the Bible, and Christianity, forbad such an arrangement on Sunday; but none of them offered proof that this assumption is a sound one. They evidently wished to have this taken for granted, in defence to their position as religious teachers.

This session and a succeeding one (Friday afternoon) were devoted to the examination of witnesses, laymen as well as clergymen, called by Mr. Jewell to show that they, and the portion of the community represented by them, did *not* wish the Reading-room opened. The learned counsel seemed to have taken a hint from that famous Irishman who, when five witnesses testified they saw him do a certain act, offered to bring ten who did *not* see him do it. Who doubts that in a city of 200,000 inhabitants, where the influence of a hundred ministers is all the time bent to secure a monopoly of Sunday for the interest of their pulpits and churches—a very great number of people have been taught to believe that these pulpits and churches have *a right* to such monopoly? *They* do not want the Reading-room; but is that a reason why those should not have it who *do* want it?

Testimony from *employés* of the Library was also introduced. The Janitor was opposed to the opening of the Reading-room because he would have to sweep the floor again after Sunday evening. Two young-lady-assistants in the Library were opposed to it because, if at some future time the Library *also* should be opened on Sundays, their labors would be increased. The two practical heads of the administration of the Library, it appeared, held different opinions, the Librarian decidedly favoring the opening of the Reading-room during the part of Sunday asked for, while the Superintendent opposed it. The latter thought that though one "expert" was sufficient for the ordinary care of the Reading-room at any one time, three or four new persons would be required for the Sunday work *if they undertook it without previous instruction.* What the need was of beginning the new arrangement until a new attendant *is* sufficiently instructed, he did not inform us. The effort of these witnesses seemed to be only to accumulate objections; not at all to assist in arranging that the thing asked for might be done in a manner as little burdensome as possible. Cross-examination, however, drew from one of them the fact that a large and increasing number of mechanics and working-men are accustomed to resort both to the Library and Reading-room.

The combination of ignorance and simplicity shown in some of the testimony was very amusing. One witness thought that any religious man would *of course* object to the opening of the Reading-room Sunday evening; and that, as to the necessities of working men, church-going would be better than reading for them Sunday evening. A Reverend gentleman maintained that the laboring classes *did not want* such matter as the Reading-room contains (the best current literature in every department); and his reason for feeling assured of this was that he had personally known men of that sort who did not care to take out volumes from a library of *old* works on scientific subjects. His honest opinion was that, as far as the interests of working men were concerned, the Public Library was "all moonshine." And a deacon—one of the most deaconish of the class, whose "walk and conversation" and face and gait declare him to be such as far off as you can see him—after declaring that he had a "strong feeling in favor of the observance of the Sabbath," actually gave the following testimony, as if it were something to the purpose: He has various persons in his employ, clerks and laboring men; he had talked with them upon this subject; and he had not heard one of them express an opinion that the Reading-room should be opened on Sunday! Pro-di-gi-ous! That is as much as to say that he found none of these persons who wished to be dismissed from his employment.

The remonstrants, who have already occupied three sessions, will probably engross the whole of a fourth, on Monday afternoon, having more evidence of the same sort to present, with a lawyer's plea to follow it. It is to be noticed that the opposition to an opening of the Reading-room comes not merely from the people ordinarily classed as "Orthodox," but from such Unitarians and Universalists as have a leaning in the Orthodox direction, assuming that "progress" has had its full and perfect work in bringing them to their present position. One of this class testified that he "respects the traditions of the city, especially its observance of the Sabbath-day." Mr. Miner, Universalist, has already given his testimony to the same effect, and that of Dr. Gannett (the successor of Dr. Channing) is promised at the next session. NORTH.

THE DISTURBING ELEMENTS AT THE SOUTH.

WHO ARE THE MARPLOTS—HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS—HOW TO SOLVE THE DIFFICULTY.

[WE reprint from the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* the following very interesting and valuable letter upon affairs at the South:]

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 25, 1867.

"THE SOUTHERN ANIMUS."

It is difficult to depolarize, as the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table would say, words that have long been used to express a certain meaning. So when we speak of "The South," we mean that which went into rebellion—the people whom a gentleman recently described as "Camanches thinly gilded over." The terse expression was used by one who, for several months past, has been engaged in travelling through the former slave States, arranging for the distribution of one portion of the relief Congress provided for the suffering of that section. When, therefore, I say "the South," I mean the slave breeders, buyers, kidnappers and drivers; the creatures who sold their own children to pay gambling debts; those who make drinking cups of the skulls of our dead, and ornaments for the fingers of their women out of the whitened bones of Heroes, "the latchets of whose shoes" when living "they were not worthy to unloose." The south of rebellion; of Belle Isle, Andersonville, Libby and Salisbury; the South that made the black codes of '65, and murdered its victims in Memphis, New Orleans, and Mobile; when one refers to the "Southern animus" that is what one means. This South is as bitter as ever. I am not overdrawing when I declare my conviction to be (as well as that of every intelligent Unionist with whom I conversed during my journey), that the South is more bitter in its rebellious tendencies than at any time since 1865. Perhaps it would not be incorrect to say since 1863. I think that since the passage of the military bills, the same sort of change has occurred which passed over the South between the surrender of its arms until in the following Autumn the development of "my policy" gave the old spirit a new vigor. Then, in the early Summer one could travel anywhere, and the apparent friendliness would have amazed you. But the Fall was not half way to Winter's portal ere this passed away, and the old insolence and arrogance reappeared. So when the Military bill became a law, there came over the South a sort of sullen stupor. Then, an apparent submission and active acquiescence was manifested by a prevailing belief in their attempt to control the negro vote. The belief in the power to do this lasted some time, and has not even yet wholly passed away. This led them to deprecate action before the Supreme Court. At first, they were inclined to honestly vote for a convention. But as Mr. Johnson's policy developed and the fact that the negroes meant to vote as their own interest dictated became evident, the South once more became violent. That is its condition to-day. The great majority of whites in the ten States under military control, will vote against a convention. The feeling is expressed in terms befitting the spirit which dictates the policy, by the following editorial item from a recent Mobile *Tribune:*

"To seek safety by reconstruction, so-called, under the radical programme is like plunging into the sea to get out of a shower; or to use a more familiar illustration, jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire.

"Our only hope of salvation lies in the overthrow of the radical party, not in entering the ranks of that party, torch in hand. To adopt the reconstruction (so-called) aimed at by the Sherman bill is, to all intents and purposes, to enlist under the radical colors.

"Our neighbor, the *Times*, in an article yesterday headed, 'From Black to Red,' demonstrated very clearly the inevitable tendency of radical measures. Of these measures, reconstruction under the Sherman bill, is the very *fille du regiment* of the radical chasseurs; the pet measure of general and private; the black harlot whose womb is pregnant with a litter of red fiends.

"Let every man register and vote against the attempts to move the State in the direction of the threshold of such a creature's den—that is, vote 'no convention.'"

It may be affirmed with perfect certainty that this would not have been written—certainly not in that language—even a month ago. Stanbery's leaven is leavening the mass. My knowledge of the Southern press assures me that seven-tenths of it has definitely and does now oppose voting for a "convention." The opportunity afforded to them by the failure of John Sherman, Blaine, Bingham & Co., to have any faith in the negro, they fling back with contemptuous insult in our faces. The only way to deal with them is that proposed in the Louisiana bill.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTEST.

One of the first things you hear in conversation with a Southern man is that the North is on the eve of a reaction; that we rest on the edge of a volcano—this fiery and sulphurous simile is a favorite one—that shortly riot and rapine will run wild in our Northern cities. To this sort of a delusion they are firmly given over. They believe a lie and rejoice therein. This is the chief encouragement to the "no convention policy." It is inspired mainly from Washington. Of that there is no doubt. When Judge Sharkey arrived in Mississippi, this expected reaction was among the first things spoken of by him. Parsons of Alabama writes the same from Washington. Perry proclaims it in his Columbia Phœnix letters. All the minor ones join in the cry. They urge the South to stand firm and not join in its own dishonor, as reconstruction is termed.

Another noticeable fact is this. The men who at the beginning of the rebellion were like Andrew Johnson counted Unionists of the pro-slavery type, and now like him the leaders of this new rebellion, for such it is, though at present only acting negatively—Sharkey, Parsons, Perry, Orr, Marvin, Worth, and many others—are the leading men among those who most bitterly denounce the government. While, on the other hand, as is known, rebel soldiers are often among the best friends of reconstruction. A correspondent in Georgia writes since my return as follows. His opportunities for an intelligent opinion are extensive:

"I think, indeed I know, so far as my observations will enable me to judge, that a very large proportion of the class disfranchised are truly loyal to the government *now*, and took the oath of allegiance in good faith and were as effectually cured of secession as ever 'pup was of sucking eggs.' They are heartily sick of it, and if they do not love the Union as good as they ought to, are trying to do so, and are pleased with and will support the Republican party, while three-fifths or more of original Union men—yes, I believe nine-tenths of them—now hate the government, 'hate the Radical party and hate the nigger,' and hate everybody that don't hate the nigger, and say they had rather go to hell than go back into the Union. They hope and pray for its destruction, and yet say in the same breath that they are loyal. They say it often and loud; they vociferate it.

* * * * * *

"To go back to the war, or before the war, to look up a man's record as to loyalty, might do elsewhere, but will not do in the South now. If a man here is *now* loyal, it adds very much to the beauty and consistency of its tenor, if he can show a clear record before and during the war; but what signifies his *ante-bellum* professions if his record shows him investing in secession stock now?"

Another manifestation, and one which we may expect to see largely increased, now that Johnson has stretched forth his hand, is the determination, more or less brutally and openly announced, of compelling the negroes to vote for them under penalty of dismissal from employment. And to the plantation freedmen, after the terrible experience through which he has passed during the last three years, during which he has learned in a somewhat cruel manner that freedom does not mean bread, but only the right to work, and, if he can, get pay therefor, the threat of dismissal, when work has been obtained and food is brought regularly, comes with great horror.

It is no idle threat, but a settled plan, already being carried out. In all places where Wilson, Kelley, Farnsworth, Conway, Hinton, Pierce, Moss, Thomas, French, Tenney, Armstrong, and other Republicans have spoken, scores and often hundreds of men have been dismissed. Personally I was informed of numerous cases in Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Mobile, Atlanta and elsewhere, where men were dismissed for joining in the processions and attending the meetings which welcomed and received them. Seeing hundreds of letters each week from all sections of the South, I am certain of what I say when I declare that there is all through these ten States a determination on the part of employers to coerce the freedmen into voting with them.

There is no sincerity in even those that submit. Such men as Gov. Brown of Georgia acquiesce because they are sagacious enough to see that the only chance of their section to obtain power is to get back into the Union. *They don't want power for the sake of cementing the Union*, but the rather to lie in wait, adder-like, to sting again the bosom that warms them to life once more. I speak of Gov. Brown because, having heard him in conversation with Southern men he was trying to convince by the wisdom of his own views, I know whereof I write.

There is but one way to deal with the South, and that is to place at once and unequivocally the power of the States into the hands of the loyal men. The Louisiana bill, which passed the House of Representatives last Spring, is the wisest measure ever offered bearing on the reconstruction problem.

THE LAND QUESTION.

Whatever may be said for or against confiscation as a policy, no one can shut his eyes to the dependent condition of the landless *classes* of the South; for it is not alone the negroes who are thus placed; the laboring whites, whether loyal or disloyal, are pretty much in the same condition. Any measure that could place *in the South itself*, at the disposal of the landless, black and white, a fair opportunity of obtaining small homesteads, would be statesmanship of the highest type, and do much more than aught else to the true pacification of the whole country. The possession of land would do much to kill off the control the rebel leaders have over the rank and file of the confederacy. Noting as I did everything bearing on this question while travelling, and thinking of it since, I have a few suggestions to make.

1st, then, so much of Mr. Stevens's bill as confiscates public lands now belonging to the States, ought to be adopted, at once. This would give us for eighty acre homesteads, I believe, about two hundred million acres, of which three-fourths would be west of the Mississippi—one half being in Texas alone.

2d. If I am not misinformed, there still remains in several of these States a large amount of public land, to be sold under the law which gradates the prices according to the years this remains unsold. I have been informed that there are six millions acres in Alabama, the price of which is generally twelve-and-a-half cents per acre. There are about one million acres in North Carolina, a large quantity in Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana. Much may be very poor, but more of it is capable of producing good crops. It is only slavery which prevented the sale of these lands. Let a law be passed placing all such lands under the operations of the amended homestead act.

3d. Let Congress see to it, by means of a simple act, that *all* lands brought under control of the insolvent courts, and to be sold as part of a bankrupt's assets, be offered by the Marshal at public sale in lots of from 20 to 100 acres. The freed people will come in for their full share of these lands. Again, it seems impolitic for our military commanders to busy themselves in enforcing stay laws for the benefit of the rich rebels. Let the suits go, and, if they must interfere, require that land sold under judgment shall be offered in small parcels. Then let them see that if the negro wants to buy, he shall be protected.

4th. Put the States into the hands of loyal men. They will soon see to it that the land is made to bear its full share of local taxation, a thing it does not now do. The payment of their fair share of taxation will break down these large proprietors. Then pass liberal tax sale laws, so as to guarantee the buyers. Offer the seized lands in fitting parcels and give decent terms as to payment, and you will see the large plantations divided rapidly.

5th. There is a legal question to be settled about the abolition of slavery which may affect this question materially. One of the positions assumed by *pro-rebel* speakers and writers is that emancipation was only completed when under Andrew Johnson's pressure the present bogus States ratified the Anti-Slavery amendment. The shrewd negro-leaders as well as the radical whites see how this once granted invalidates their arguments in defence of the party of the war. There will be test cases yet made up, and suits brought when the Courts are reconstructed, based upon a demand for pay for labor in these States from the date at least in which our armies first occupied, or more probably from the immortal 1st of January, 1863. Should the freed people gain these suits, it will take a very large amount to satisfy the claims that will be made.

6th. There ought to be an organized effort to teach the landless poor of the South how to combine their earnings for the most economical purchase of lands. Owners will not sell to individual negroes, but to large bodies of them combining their small means to make inconsiderable sums, it is possible to employ agents who can purchase for them, without the illiberal ohgaohs knowing until it is too late who the real purchasers are.

Capital in the North, whose owners desire to aid in solving this Southern problem, can find no more advantageous method than the one of buying lands and re-selling in small parcels to the land-hungry freedmen. The National Freedmen's Savings Bank might readily be used to aid this movement, through its numerous branches and its knowledge of the character of their depositors.

These are some of the ways which suggest themselves to my mind as means to aid in setting one of the great powers with which the laboring classes must be endowed ere permanent prosperity can come to the distracted South. This trinity of beneficence is the ballot, the possession of a homestead, and the enjoyment of a common school system. OBSERVER.

LITERARY.

The Atlantic Monthly, for August, contains: The Guardian Angel; Hospital Memories; Dirge for a Sailor; Up the Edisto; Poor Richard; The Growth, Limitations, and Toleration of Shakspeare's Genius; Longfellow's Translation of Dante's Divina Commedia; The Old Story; A Week's Riding; The Little Land of Appenzell; The Lost Gentus; Cincinnati; Reviews and Literary Notices.

Our Young Folks, for August, contains: Cast Away in the Cold, by Isaac J. Hayes; Bird-Catching, by R. H. Stoddard; About Me, by Mrs. Edward A. Walker; The Little Maid, by Mrs. Anna M. Wells; Pussy and Emily at Sixteen, by Harriet Beecher Stowe; Good Old Times, by Elijah Kellogg; A Midsummer Night, by Mary Ellen Atkinson; Round-the-World Joe, by George Eager; The Wish, by Charlotte F. Bates; Birdie's Garden, by Margaret T. Canby.

RECEIVED.

A STORY OF DOOM, AND OTHER POEMS, by Jean Ingelow, 288 pages. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

LITTLE BROTHER, AND OTHER STORIES, by Fitz Hugh Ludlow, 293 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

TEN MONTHS IN BRAZIL, by John Codman, 208 pages. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The Atlantic Monthly for August. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Our Young Folks, for August. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Littells' Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

American Educational Monthly, for August. New York: J. N. Schermerhorn & Company.

Temperance in the American Congress. New York: Samuel R. Wells, publisher.

THE OLD CURIOSITY SHOP, by Charles Dickens, 480 pages. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Our Boys and Girls, Oliver Optic's Magazine. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The American Phrenological Journal, for August, S. R. Wells editor. New York: Fowler & Wells.

HOLMES' PATRIOTIC SONGS, by S. N. Holmes, Syracuse, N. Y.

The Children's Friend, for August, Lydia H. Hall, editor, West Chester, Pa.

Special Notices.

EQUAL RIGHTS REPORT. — The Proceedings of the First Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association (a neat pamphlet of eighty pages) may now be had of SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 37 Park Row (Room 17), New York. Price 25 cents.

SUMMER BOARDING.— The subscriber, who occupies a large commodious house, has accommodations for a given number of New York boarders. They will find a quiet, sequestered and rural home, plenty of pure air and plenty of pure water, pleasing landscape and scenery—everything that country life affords, with village privileges available within a quarter of an hour's walk, the house being situated half a mile from the village of Kingston. JOSEPH FOSTER.

Advertisements.

DWIGHT'S JOURNAL OF MUSIC.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE LIGHT OF STARS.

BY WM. H. FURNESS, D.D.

Slowly, by God's hand unfurled,
Down around the weary world
Falls the darkness; Oh how still
Is the working of His will!

Mighty Spirit, ever nigh!
Work in me as silently;
Veil the day's distracting sights,
Show me heaven's eternal lights.

Living stars to view be brought
In the boundless realms of thought:
High and infinite desires,
Flaming like those upper fires.

Holy truth, eternal right,
Let them break upon my sight;
Let them shine serene and still,
And with light my being fill.

OUTRAGES BY MEMBERS OF TRADES UNIONS.

There have been partial reports in the papers during a day or two past relative to a series of outrages, said to have taken place in Sheffield, England, designed to intimidate and coerce members of certain trades who had refused to cooperate in the action of the unions. The liability to exaggeration in ordinary newspaper reports disadvantageous to the cause, and the honorable character of the great modern movement for the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes, has led us to withhold any statement which might not seem well authenticated. The following is made, however, in a report of the Royal Commission of investigation:

On the 19th of June a man named James Hallum, a saw-grinder—who, a few days previously, had refused to give the name of an accomplice, and was committed for contempt of court—intimated that he was prepared to make a full confession of what he knew respecting trade outrages, and he was therefore brought up for examination. He confessed to the "rataning" of one Taylor in company with Samuel Crookes, and the blowing up of Wheatman & Smith's place with gunpowder, also in company with Crookes, the money to buy the gunpowder being supplied by Broadhead, the Secretary of the Saw-Grinders' Union. He confessed that he had bought a pistol for the purpose of shooting one Linley, the money being also supplied by Broadhead.

When asked if he carried the pistol about with the intention of using it to kill Linley, the witness trembled violently, and asked the president of the court if he would have a certificate if he told the whole truth. He was assured that he would, but he was so violently agitated that for a quarter of an hour he was in hysterics, and kept clutching at his throat. Resting his head on his hands, he then gave an account of the murder. He said Crookes fired the shot, but he compelled him to do so, and they were "set on to do it" by Broadhead; they were "to do" for Linley, and did not intend to kill him, but only to prevent his doing any more work; he undertook to do that. Broadhead asked him how much he should want for doing it; witness thought £20 not too much, and Broadhead agreed; the next day he (witness) met Crookes and told him "he had got the job to do for Linley," and they were to have £20 for it; then Crookes saw Broadhead, and said that Broadhead would only give £15 for the job; they both had revolvers, and followed Linley about every night, for six weeks without getting a good chance "to do" for him; they then got an air gun and experimented upon rabbits, and at last they got a chance at him; Crookes fired and shot Linley in the head; they shot him through a window and escaped; Linley lived some weeks and then died of the wound; witness (Hallum) got £7 10s. for his share in the murder. This man also admitted that he had previously "done for" a man with a life-preserver at the instance of the secretary of the Pen and Pocket Blade Grinders.

Samuel Crookes confirmed the evidence of Hallum in every particular.

The man Broadhead subsequently made confession, under a promise that mercy should be shown to him. The substance of his evidence was as follows:

1. He hired Dennis Clark to blow up Hellewell for being brought into the trade contrary to rule. "We expected, that if he was admitted a member, we should have him on the box, and it was to drive him from the trade he was blown up." Price either £3 or £5.

2. He caused the horse of Elisha Parker to be hamstrung.

3. He hired George Page to hire some one to shoot Parker. Price £20 to £30.

4. He hired some one (he thought Crookes, the murderer of Linley) to blow up the boilers of Firth & Son. Price £5.

5. He hired Crookes to lame Hellewell. He explained laming to mean "wounding him in one of his limbs so as to prevent him working." Crookes watched him several nights with a gun, and was in the act of firing when another man got in the way.

6. He wrote a threatening letter to Messrs. Firth & Sons, of Sheffield, saying, "If I but move my finger you are sent to eternity as sure as fate.

7. He paid Crookes for throwing a canister of gunpowder down the chimney of the house of Samuel Baxter. Baxter had "held himself aloof from the trade," and Broadhead "thought he ought to contribute."

8. He hired Crookes to try to blow up Jos. Wilson's house. Price perhaps £10.

9. He employed Crookes to throw a can of powder down Pool's chimney. The object was "to alarm Linley, who was living with Pool" (his brother-in-law.) "Pool had done nothing to us whatever. Price £5 to £10.

10. He employed Crookes to blow up Holdsworth, by putting powder in his cellar, for employing non-society men. Price £6.

11. He employed Crookes to blow up Reaney's house for giving Fearnehough work.

12. He paid Crookes £15 to blow up Fearnehough.

13. He embezzled £30 to pay for shooting Parker.

He wrote letters expressing his abhorrence of these acts, "and for that," he says, "I know I shall be held up to the execration of the whole world." Upon making this observation, "he commenced weeping."

Broadhead says of himself: "I was the Treasurer of the Amalgamated Saw Trades, and till last night (Thursday night), when I resigned, I was the Treasurer of the National Association of Organized Trades." This last mentioned body is an association of trades throughout the kingdom. It includes the carpenters, masons, joiners, tailors and others. Its object is to resist lockouts. The number of Sheffield members is six to eight thousand, and the total number perhaps sixty thousand.

THE TRADE OUTRAGES IN ENGLAND.

We all felt, no doubt, on first hearing of the trade outrages in Sheffield, that the good character of trades unions everywhere was involved, and the cause of labor must suffer. The revelations of the Royal Commission were truly startling, being new and strange as well as atrocious. It was because they were unheard of before, and because they were directly opposite in spirit and policy to everything we know of trades unions in this country and in England also, that we have thought it prudent to form no hasty judgment even of the Sheffield unions themselves; and we have now some facts to present which will help our readers to form an enlightened opinion and remove in a measure the apprehension they may feel that those disclosures may effect injuriously the cause of labor.

An able writer in the London *Bashive*, in two philosophical and historical articles in which he shows a learned familiarity with his subject—want of space alone forbids our giving them to our readers—presents us some facts which are absolutely indispensable to a right understanding of those outrages.

Sheffield, he observes, as the shortest-lived town, has a population renewed so often that the experience acquired and communicated to the rising generation in other places is there neither acquired nor communicated. Sheffield is situated on the south border of Yorkshire, and the north and east of Derbyshire. Its manufactures, injurious to the worker, produce a constant demand for life, that is fed almost solely from the Derbyshire side,—whence from time immemorial the dales, villages and hamlets have sent their youths to Sheffield for apprenticeship and their girls for service. They could get better wages in Sheffield than elsewhere, and they bore with them the ignorance and low habits that poverty and the semi-barbarism of almost total isolation from civilized associations engender. There is more of the Ancient British blood remaining in Derbyshire than in any other part of the country, and this writer says of that class of people, that they "appear to have the characteristic of stolidity and doggedness to the past; of impulsiveness, activity, and even violence, to present and sensuous motives—while ideas of forethought appear to possess little influence upon this class or tribe of men; and as they come into Sheffield in their teens, uneducated, so they continue, except in the education of life."

The writer calls attention to the influence which callings and trades have upon the habits, morals and mental constitutions of men as well as upon health; and remarks with the greatest truth that the trades of iron-workers, grinders, miners, etc., being hard, arduous, violent and dangerous, influence the habits and ideas of the mind as much as they "hove" the hand and harden and wear out the body. It is important to remember these influences in judging of the Sheffield people.

Our authority then goes on to give a sketch of the history of trades guilds or unions, and shows that in 1624 Parliament, on application of the cutlery trades of Sheffield, granted them a charter to control their own trade in their own way, under the title of "actes and ordennances made and agreed uppon by all the hole fellowshippe and company of cutlers and makers of knyves within the Lordship of Holemshire; as also by the Righte Honourable George Earle of Sherewsbury, Lord and owner of seaid Lordship."

Attention is here called to these points: 1st, That the unions were first to prevent the abuse of the actions of the minority upon the majority. 2, That the majority were habited to "make orders ordennances and search. 3, That "the actes and ordennances" were agreed upon by "the hole" of the affected. 4, That the general law of the country only affirmed and enforced the agreements of acts and ordinances of the local trades. And he shows, fifth, that the law was enforced by pain and penaltics, as all other laws are.

"The Norman 'thieves'" says he "seized all possible advantages as they seized the land, but the so-called 'trade privileges' were gradually acquired back again. In some parts of the country they were never wholly lost. In Wales, in Derbyshire, and the principal then known mineral districts, the workers in the trade are still jurors of both fact and law, and all that the government do now is to enforce the jurors decisions or trade workings."

In 1814, owing to changes and repeals of the laws, "the policy of exclusion and protection of the masters was abandoned by them, but was continued by the workmen, in order to secure, as they said, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. But whereas the masters had firms and power of search and regulations enforced by law—constable, bailey and soldier—the men had that power taken away." They were obliged therefore to work in secrecy, and instead of bailiff and constable taking away the wheels, bands and nuts of a defaulting workman until he paid his fines, "Nathaniel, the Man in the Moon," sent notice of fines and made a visit by night, and took away the nuts, brands and wheels until the fines were paid. If one complained of such treatment, he was told that the rats—en rattens—had taken his tools, and if he paid they would doubtless bring them back again,—as they always were honorable enough to do.

We have thus given enough to enable the reader to perceive the origin of the outrages recently discovered; and whoever reads the whole history will understand that these outrages have been decreasing of late years,—the effect of the modern trades union movement having been to do them away instead of to cause them.

It will also be seen that they are confined to Sheffield; and it is just to observe that all the trades of that city are not involved in them.

The Sheffield File trades, says the editor of the *Beehive*, formed no part of the general union of Sheffield, at least up to 1866, and the trades organizations of the kingdom publicly denounce the practices of the Saw Grinders' Union.

Instead of looking back to the past, as that Union have done, the trades of England and of this country are looking forward to the future, and depending on principles in advance of the practice of the times to give success to their movement. —*Boston Voice.*

WHAT WE OWE TO ASIA.

Dr. Draper, in his recent valuable work, "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America," there sets forth in a clear and logical manner the debt we owe to Asia, the great mother of the races:

"If the European wishes to know how much he owes to the Asiatic, he has only to cast a glance at an hour of his daily life. The clock which summons him from his bed in the morning was the invention of the East, as also were clepsydras and sun-dial. The prayer for his daily bread, that he has said from his infancy, first rose from the side of a Syrian mountain. The linens and cottons with which he clothes himself, though they may be very fine, are inferior to those that have been made from time immemorial in the looms of India. The silk was stolen by some missionaries for his benefit from China. He could buy better steel than that with which he shaves himself, in the old city of Damascus, where it was first invented. The coffee he expects at breakfast was first grown by the Arabians, and the natives of Upper India prepared the sugar with which he sweetens it. A school-boy can tell the meaning of the Sanscrit words, 'saechara canada.' If his tastes are light and he prefers tea, the virtues of that excellent leaf were first pointed out by the industrious Chinese. They also taught him how to make and use the cup and saucer in which to serve it. His breakfast tray was lacquered in Japan. There is a tradition that leavended bread was first made of the waters of the Ganges. The egg he is breaking was laid by a fowl whose ancestors were first domesticated by the Malaccans, unless she may have been—though that will not altar the case—modern Shanghai. If there are preserves and fruit on his board, let him remember with thankfulness that Persia first gave him the cherry, the peach and the plum. If in any of these pleasant preparations he detects the flavor of alcohol, let it remind him that substance was first distilled by the Arabians, who have set him the praiseworthy example, which it will be for his benefit to follow, of abstaining from its use. When he talks about coffee and alcohol, he is using Arabic words. A thousand years before it had occurred to him to enact laws or restriction in the use of intoxicating drinks, the Prophet of Mecca did the same thing, and, what is more to the purpose, has compelled to this day all Asia and Africa to obey them. We gratify our taste of personal ornaments in the way the Orientials have taught us,—with pearls, rubies, sapphires, diamonds. In public amusements it is the same. The most magnificent fireworks are still to be seen in India and China; and, as regards pastimes of private life, Europe has no invention that can rival the game of chess. We have no hydraulic construction as great as the Chinese Canal, no fortifications as extensive as the Chinese Wall; we have no Artesian wells that can at all approach in depth some of theirs. We have not yet referred to the practice of obtaining coal gas from the interior of the earth; they have borings for that purpose more than three thousand feet deep."

GINGER.

The tendency of individuals affected by the extreme heat of the present time is to an excessive indulgence in cold drinks without much reference to the quantity or quality of the fluid they imbibe. So long as they can take a cold drink, a majority of the people care very little what they drink, although physicians and sensible people are aware that many people are annually killed by a too frequent or injudicious use of cooling beverages during the heated term. For the benefit of our readers, we recently applied to an eminent physician for an opinion on the subject and a prescription that would most readily meet the requirements of thirsty people during the warm weather. The doctor's sudden and emphatic ejaculation of "Ginger!" relieved us from the apprehension that he was about to enter upon a lengthy dissertation on the subject of "death from an over-dose of ice-water," ending with a prescription combining a dozen or more drugs, to be taken as a substitute for the popular cooling draughts. "Ginger," said the doctor, "I consider the very best article, most easily procured, and least expensive for all persons to employ. By its proper use they may have cold water in abundance, and at the same time avoid most if not all the ill effects produced by the cooling abominations a great many people pour down their throats this hot weather." "Tell your readers," continued the physician, "to buy a few ounces of powdered ginger, and every time they are thirsty let them mix half a teaspoonful in the cold water they desire to drink. If a spoonful of sugar or molasses is added it will do no harm. "Extract of ginger" may also be employed by those who prefer the article in a fluid form. A bottle of the extract should be placed near the ice-pitcher or cooler, and when people drink let them pour a teaspoonful of the extract in their tumbler, before filling it with water. "For my use," said the doctor, "I prefer the powdered article, because I believe it acts more beneficially. In the West Indies this root is considered one of the best preventitives for the Summer complaints of the tropics, when it is properly used, and is not abused."—*N. Y. Sun.*

ODE TO DUTY.

Stern daughter of the voice of God!
O Duty! if that name thou love,
Who art a light to guide, a rod
To check the erring, and reprove;
Thou, who art victory and law
When empty terrors overawe,
From vain temptations dost set free,
And calm'st the weary strife of frail humanity!

There are who ask not if thine eye
Be on them; who, in love and truth,
Where no misgiving is, rely
Upon the genial sense of youth;
Glad hearts! without reproach or blot;
Who do thy work and know it not;
Long may the kindly impulse last!
But thou, if they should totter, teach them to stand fast!

Serene will be our days and bright,
And happy will our nature be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security,
And they a blissful course may hold,
Even now, who not unwisely bold,
Live in the spirit of this creed;
Yet find that other strength according to their need.

* * * * * * *

Stern lawgiver? ye thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face;
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds;
And Fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient Heavens through thee are strong.

To humbler junctions, awful Power!
I call thee; I myself command
Unto thy guidance from this hour;
O, let my weakness have an end!
Give unto me, made lowly, wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of reason give;
And in the light of truth thy bondman let me live!

Wordsworth.

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

From the Chicago Tribune.

We have admitted to our columns, from time to time, a series of communications on the Social Evil, as it is called. They have been couched in decorous language, and have been written with an undoubted good purpose. Hence we have not deemed it necessary to exclude them. If anybody has any remedy to provide for the Social Evil, he or she will surely be welcome. As it is evident that considerable interest has been raised by the discussion among the better class of the community, we deem it not inappropriate to add a few comments of our own.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Social Evil is increasing, and threatening to overwhelm religion and public morals. It is susceptible of proof—of mathematical and statistical proof—that society is far purer to-day than it was two hundred, or two thousand years ago. The history and literature of the ancient world, to say nothing of the inscriptions and designs found on their ruined temples and public and private edifices, show a state of morals that would appal the *Jardin Mabille* of Paris, and disgust a dance-house in the Five Points of New York. If is unnecessary and undeniable to specify particular facts. The pages of Herodotus, Aristophanes, Juvenal, and scores of historians, poets, and dramatists, whose writings have been preserved to us, are conclusive upon this point. What was the mythology of the ancients but a system of free love, held up for public emulation? That it was emulated by all classes, with the most disgusting accessories, and without any sense of shame, we are abundantly advised. Montaigne says that Zeno, the Stoic, allowed his chastity to be compromised, so that he might not appear rude and boorish in the polite society of Athens.

If we turn to the Bible history, which is much purer than any other record of ancient times, we find that there were not five virtuous men in Sodom—and that is not all that we find of the iniquities of the cities of the plain. We feel instinctively that fire and brimstone, followed by the Dead Sea, were none too harsh a punishment for them. We find also that the Kings of Israel set an example to their subjects which would not be tolerated in any court or capital of Christendom at the present time. When vice takes refuge in darkness, we know that society is growing better.

Coming down through the decline of the Roman and Byzantine empires, through the dark ages as they are properly called, we are ever in the midst of debauchery and profligacy, save where it is relieved and mitigated by the Christian religion. Every reader of Gibbon knows this full well. With the revival of letters in Western Europe, one of the first and most popular writers we encounter is Boccaccio, whose Decameron was written for the amusement of the aristocratic dames of Florence. If such a book were written now, it would be seized and destroyed by the police, and the author would be prosecuted for obscenity. It is needless to point out the great landmarks of vice in the history and literature of modern Europe. Every student knows that society has improved, and the Social Evil has abated, as Christianity has taken deeper root in the conscience of mankind, and that *pari passu* women have risen in the social scale, and become more nearly the companions and equals of men.

Thus it appears that the elevation of woman from the condition of abject dependence and ignorance is simultaneous with the abatement of the Social Evil. We think it is the principal *cause* of its abatement (so far as it has been lessened), and that all healthful reform in the future must proceed from that idea. The number of absolutely virtuous men, in a hundred taken at random, is not large. The number of absolutely unchaste women in a hundred is very small. While this is true, it is true also that they are not subject to the same passions—that is, not in the same degree. It is fortunate for social order that such a difference exists. There is nothing in the Divine economy more wonderful, and when rightly considered more beautiful, than this relation of the sexes. The instinct of ninety-nine women in every hundred, when approached with an impure purpose, is resistance and disgust. And of those who fall from virtue, nearly all are constrained by poverty, dependence, or misplaced love—few by inherent viciousness. When a married woman is seduced, it is generally her husband's fault. If he brings love and kindness to her, she will rarely seek or accept them from another. If he cannot or will not furnish those indispensable treasures, and if she does accept them elsewhere, he has no right to shoot her paramour.

We believe that the world is growing better in many ways. We believe that the Social Evil is diminishing. The abolition of slavery has cured a vast deal of it. A million of women have been removed from the auction-block, and released from the terror of the lash. Their national instincts for the first time are brought into play—trammeled by ignorance and impure associations, it is true; but nevertheless the change is an incalculable boon to the society in which their lot is cast. Reform always begins where women can control their own action, and it will progress so fast as the sense of dependence and inferiority is removed from them. When girls shall have equal education and equal chance of remunerative employment with boys, the Social Evil will be as nearly eradicated as it is possible through human agencies; for, in addition to the direct results of self-mastery and self-control, whatever tends to make women more truly the equals and companions of the other sex, tends to subdue the passions and refine the sensibilities of men.

Blanching of the Hair.—A paper read before the Royal Society, London, by Mr. Erasmus Wilson, has thrown new light on the question as to what causes the sudden whitening of the hair, often produced by fright or profound grief. He cites a case in which the hair was colored white and brown alternately from end to end. The white segments were about one-half the length of the brown, and the two together measured about one third of a line. Under the microscope the colors were reversed, and it was obvious that the opacity of the white portion was due to a vast accumulation of air globules packed closely together in the fibrous structure of the hair, as well as in the medulla. There was no absence of pigment but the accumulation of air-globules veiled and obscured the normal color and structure. Mr. Wilson suggested the possibility of the brown portion being the day growth and the white portion the night growth. He also said, in reference to the sudden blanching of the whole hair, of which there were many cases on record, that during the prevalence of a violent nervous shock, the normal fluids of the hair might be drawn inward toward the body, in unision with the generally contracted and collapsed state of the surface, and that the vacuities left by this process of exhaustion might be suddenly filled with atmospheric air. An interesting discussion followed the reading of the paper. Dr. Sharkey alluded to a recent case of sudden blanching of the hair reported by Dr. Landois of Griefswald, in *Virchow's Archiv*, which was ascertained to be the result of an accumulation of air-globules in the fibrous substance of the hair.

Athletic Sports.—The promotion of athletic sports at our universities and public schools has produced the greatest good in all ways, and the attention paid to the means of increasing health and strength, in order to carry such sports to perfection, has had some unexpected results. Those who are best acquainted with the facts assure us that the decrease of drinking at Oxford and Cambridge is chiefly caused by the rules of trainers, who prohibit excess of all kinds. Rules which only a few follow to their full extent, act upon a much larger number to a less degree; and in this instance fashion has brought about a great moral reform. So that the present rage for all kinds of bodily exercise has not merely promoted physical development, but has nearly removed a vice which all the preaching in the world has failed to touch. —*The Lancet.*

Sir Thomas More on the Liquor Traffic.—In the introduction to Sir T. More's "Utopia," published in 1516, the summary of which is published in Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," there is the following paragraph (page 311) referring to the condition of England at that time. Sir Thomas More describes the degeneration of the Agricultural population, and then proceeds: "Add to these causes the increasing luxury and extravagance of the upper classes, and indeed of all classes; the tippling-houses, taverns, brothels, and other dens of iniquity, wine, and beer houses, and places for gambling. Do not all these, after rapidly exhausting the resources of their devotees, educate them for crime?"

The annual income of the working classes in England is £418,000,000, which is £68,000,000 more than the annual incomes of the richer and more liberally represented classes. The number of laborers is 11,018,616.

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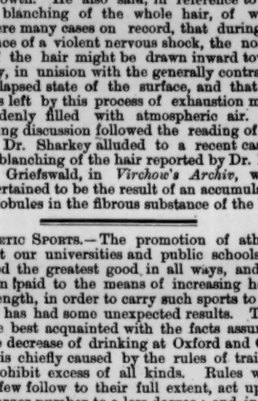

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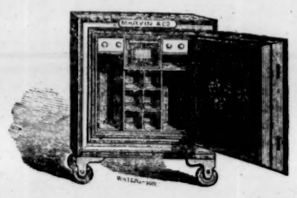

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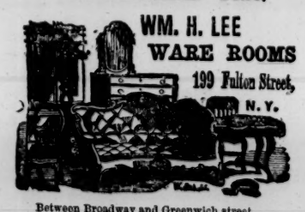

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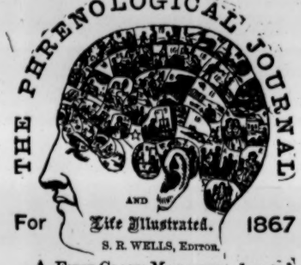

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